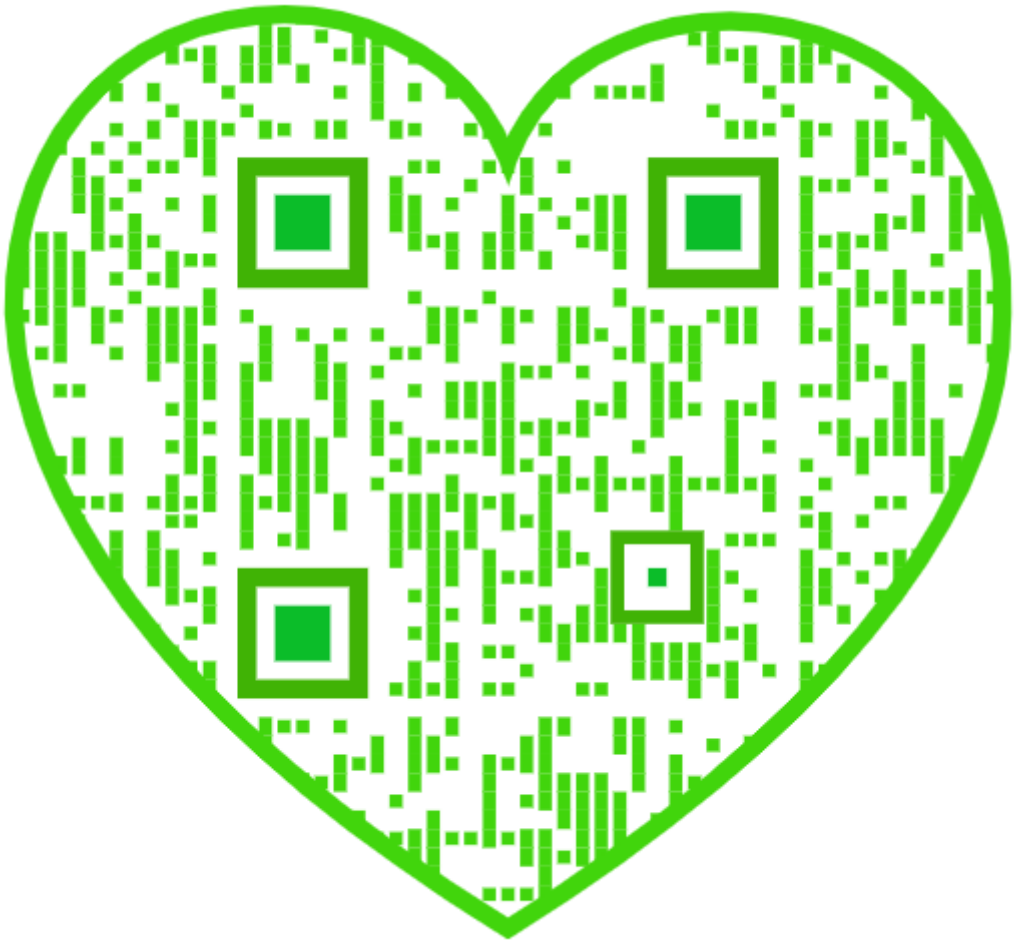

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I

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH JOURNALISM

From a print by Peter Williamson in the Thomason Collection

A HISTORY

OF

ENGLISH JOURNALISM

TO THE FOUNDATION OF THE GAZETTE

BY

J. B. WILLIAMS

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON
NEW YORK, BOMBAY, AND CALCUTTA
1908

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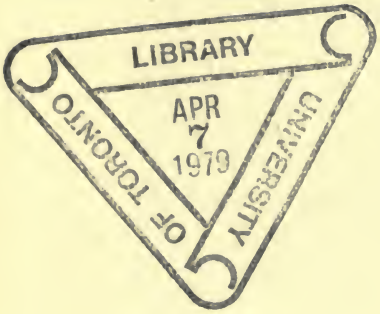

PREFACE.

With very few exceptions all the seventeenth-century periodicals are to be found in the British Museum library, which contains collections of them unique in their completeness. Apart from the general collection at the Museum, the seventeenth-century periodicals are divided into two great subdivisions, the Burney Collection and the Thomason Collection. For the early period up to 1641, and from the Restoration of King Charles II. in the month of May, 1660, to the end of the century, the Burney Collection must be relied on.

Charles Burney, D.D., prebendary of Lincoln and chaplain to the King, was born on 4th December, 1757, and died on 28th December, 1817. He was one of the most distinguished classical critics of his day, and devoted the later years of his life to the accumulation of a large and valuable library, which was purchased at his death by the Houses of Parliament for £13,500 and deposited in the British Museum. The collection of newsbooks and newspapers referred to, which formed part of this, commences with a "relation" of news dated 1603, and extends far beyond the period covered in this book.

George Thomason, who died in the year 1666, was a bookseller who carried on business at the sign of the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Churchyard. On seeing the number of pamphlets which were pouring from the press at the outbreak of the great Rebellion, the idea occurred to him that a complete collection of these would be valuable for future ages. In the year 1641, therefore, he secured copies of all that he could obtain which had appeared previously to that date, and thenceforward collected copies of every tract, broadside, book or newsbook which appeared, whether licensed or surreptitiously, until the year 1662. As he obtained each book or pamphlet he dated it with the day of its appearance, occasionally adding manuscript notes of his own, and even went so far as to add to his pamphlets handbills scattered about the streets. The result is a collection which has no equal of its kind in the world, for it contains a mass of fugitive and ephemeral literature, much of which would otherwise have perished. A complete catalogue of his collection in chronological order has been recently (1908) printed, prefaced with an excellent account of Thomason by Dr. G. K. Fortescue, Keeper of the Printed Books at the British Museum, who also relates the story of the vicissitudes the collection underwent and the means Thomason adopted for its secret preservation until the Restoration. It was ultimately bought by George III. for the absurd sum of £300 and presented to the British Museum in 1762. It is now generally recognised that it is in fact priceless. Thomason died a poor man.

For the periodicals which appeared between 1641 and the Restoration therefore the Thomason Collection is unrivalled. About half a dozen periodicals only (and these—with the exception of one French periodical—of the most ephemeral nature) seem to have escaped Thomason's net. A few first numbers of newsbooks, chiefly Royalist, and therefore secretly printed and furtively sold, also escaped him, but on the whole the present writer has come to the conclusion, that his collection up to the month of March, 1660, but not later, is fairly complete, and that the last number of each periodical in his collection is almost invariably the latest which appeared. A comparison with the contents of other libraries has borne out this conclusion; therefore in the catalogue of periodicals in the appendix the date of each last number in the Thomason Collection has been adopted as marking the date of extinction of the periodical in question. Of the numerous counterfeits of the Royalist Mercuries which appeared, notably *Pragmaticus*, and *Melancholicus*, a good many are to be found in the Burney Collection which are not in Thomason's. There are, however, very little means of identifying these, beyond the difference of the matter which they contain and the style of the writers.

The titles of periodicals which appeared between November, 1641 and October, 1655 number about 320, and at first sight it would seem to be a hopeless task to attempt to ascertain the names of their writers, more especially as in all but a few cases they seem to have valued their anonymity; but on closer

analysis it will be seen, that of this list, 81 appeared only once, 49 lasted for a period of over six months, and only 33 for over a year. The remainder—190—did not extend beyond a few numbers in each case, and the vast majority were either suppressed or failed to find popular support. Changes in the titles account for a yet further reduction, and thus the writers of periodicals of real importance are reduced to a comparatively small band. The task of ascertaining who these writers were, and of collecting all available information about them, has been both lengthy and arduous, owing to the number of periodicals to be examined ; and, if the present writer has not invariably succeeded as thoroughly as he could have wished, he trusts that he has presented a sufficiently accurate account to enable his readers to judge the old newsbook authors and their periodicals at their true worth. Their value as historical evidence depends very much on the characters of their writers. Much of the harsh criticism directed against them by contemporaries was due to defective intelligence, the corrupt system of licensing, or the even more shameful official press. The liberty of the press was closely connected with liberty in religious matters, and it is noteworthy that in both, toleration appeared simultaneously. Freedom from the tutelage of an official licenser was not obtained until the year 1695, and before the attainment of that freedom this book ends.

The editors of the *Nineteenth Century and After* and of the *English Historical Review* have kindly given permission to incorporate in this book the substance of articles recently printed in those reviews.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION. DEFINITIONS.

THE desire to know the events of the day, to be told what distant friends are doing, and to hear of occurrences in far-off countries is an instinct implanted in human nature. Keener when those near and dear to us are concerned, it is ever at its height when the tragedy of human life is involved, and, as the climax of that tragedy has always been attained in the time of war, so shall we find in war—first abroad, and then at home—the origin of English newspapers.

No great exercise of the imagination is needed, to explain how letters from friends and relatives, in days before printing had been invented, would be supplemented by detailed accounts of the events of the day, sent first of all by the retainer of the great noble or influential statesman or churchman, and lastly, as facilities of communication increased and roads and posts were improved, by the professional writer of news. England is rich in its stores of historical manuscripts, and old letters abound to tell us their story. When printed periodicals of news became firmly established among us in the seventeenth century, it might well be supposed that the profession of a writer of letters of news would come to an end as no longer necessary; therefore it is advisable to point out at once that such was far from being the case. The profession of writer of letters of intelligence existed concurrently with that of the "author" of a newsbook or newspaper until the end of the century—in the period from 1641 to 1655 as necessarily supplementing it, and in the latter half of the century as absolutely supplanting and overwhelming it.

The "letters of news" or "of intelligence," as they were

uniformly called until the word "newsletter" was coined as a complement to the word "newspaper," are more valuable sources of history than the printed periodicals. The reason of this is to be found in the fact, that throughout the century there existed a stringent system of licensing—that is, of compelling everything that was printed to be first of all read and approved by an official or officials deputed for the purpose, before the writer was allowed to commit it to the press. From this letters were exempt; hence their value.

If the law as regards the licensing of ordinary books was strictly enforced, far more so was this the case with printed news. The first great legislative enactment affecting printed periodicals which it is necessary to notice is the Star Chamber Decree of 23rd June, 1586, codifying all previous enactments. Roughly summed up, this decree—

1. Restricted printing to London and the two universities.
2. Restricted the number of printers, and
3. Ordered all books to be perused, before being printed, by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London (the Lord Chief Justice, etc., for law books)—a duty which was performed by deputies.

The penalties for infringing these regulations were six months' imprisonment for the printer and three months' for the vendor.

The publication of printed news was liable to other restrictions than those affecting the printing of ordinary books. To publish news was an interference with the affairs of State and a matter of royal prerogative, so that, apart from the licensing regulations to be complied with, royal permission had directly or indirectly to be obtained before any news could be published. In the thirty-sixth year of the reign of King Henry VIII. a proclamation was issued prohibiting "certain books printed of newes of the prosperous successes of the King's Ma'ties arms in Scotland"—which were to be brought in and burned "within 24 houres after proclamation made on pain of ymprisonment".

In order to obtain the clearest evidence of this royal right we must descend to the year 1680, after the newsbooks and newspapers had come into being, when it is found in the unanimous opinion of the judges given to His Majesty King Charles II. The licensing act had expired at that date, and there were no regulations whatever affecting the licensing of books. It was desired to stop the publication of newspapers competing with the *London Gazette*, and the judges, when asked to state what the sovereign's rights really were, stated "That his Majesty may by law prohibit the printing and publishing of all newsbooks and pamphlets of news whatsoever not licensed by his Majesty's authority as manifestly tending to the breach of the peace and disturbance of the kingdom". Whereupon a proclamation was ordered to be made prohibiting all newsbooks for which the King's permission had not been obtained.[1]

The law of the matter here stated was thoroughly understood in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and prior to the outbreak of the Great Rebellion the only permission to print news ever granted was one to publish foreign news, and that only towards the end of the reign of King James.[2] Although printed periodicals appeared at an early date on the Continent, England was entirely without any printed periodical of domestic news until the end of the year 1641; the royal prerogative barred the way, and England was behind the rest of the world. The first periodicals, therefore, that have to be described in the history of English journalism are merely translations and adaptations of foreign periodicals. When the periodicals of domestic news really came into being, they came with a rush—a veritable deluge—and, as if to make up for the tardiness of their arrival, no other country

[1] The *London Gazette*, No. 1509, 3rd-6th May, 1680. The proclamation is set out in No. 1513, 17th-20th May, 1680.

[2] The absurd legend of a newspaper entitled the *English Mercurie*, in Queen Elizabeth's days, needs no notice. The forgery is to be found among the manuscripts at the British Museum. The *Commonwealth Mercury* of 1658 is an even clumsier fabrication.

in the world has anything at all comparable either in number, matter or manner to the newsbooks which appeared during the years 1643 to 1649 inclusive, a list of which is to be found in an Appendix to this book.

We must commence, therefore, by ascertaining the origin of the printed periodical of foreign news. This is to be found in the stationers—the publishers of their day—to whose trade printing had given birth.

A writer of the year 1689 says: "Printing though reckoned among the new inventions is now become an old trade in London, and has begot one or two more trades, the bookseller and the stationer, which are all incorporated into a body politick called the Company of Stationers—no despicable nor mean Company (or Hall) in this splendid city. One stationer was enough for a city before printing came up, and of booksellers there were none but scriveners."[1]

The scrivener also played a great part in the production of the English periodical, but almost involuntarily as it were and at a later date, and it is with the stationer that we have first to deal, for the humble beginning of our printed newspapers was the broadsheet "ballad"—the song of some event that had taken place, whether a battle, or the death or misfortune of some great man, or even the hanging of a murderer at Tyburn. The ballad singer, who was to be met with everywhere in Stuart times, lingered long, and was occasionally still to be encountered even in the nineteenth century. Abraham Holland, in his *Continued Inquisition of Paper Persecutors* (1626), sings of

> the one legg'd varlet who doth sing
> His roaring nonsense to a trivial ring
> Of Prentices about some arrant sent
> Or Boies, who then leave Jack-a-Lent[2]
> To heare the noise, or women who stand there
> And at O-hone ring forth a readie teare,

[1] "A Speech without Doors," by Edmund Hickeringill, Section V., *Restraint of the Press.*

[2] Aunt Sally—a descendant of the ancient but cruel sport of throw-

with direct allusion to the ballads of news of his day. Accompanying the ballad came the printed pamphlet, sometimes called a "discourse," sometimes a "narration," and finally settling down into the uniform term a "relation" of some event or battle that had taken place. Of these Holland again writes :—

To runne through all the pamphlets and the Toys
Which I have seen in hands of Victoring boys
To rail at all the merrie wherrie books
Which I have found in kitchen cobweb nooks
To reckon up the verie titles which
Doe please the prentices, new maids, and rich
Wealth witti'd Loobies would require a masse
And volume bigger then would load an asse
Nor is't their fault alone they wisely poise
How the blind world doth only like such Toyes
A general folly reigneth and harsh Fate
Hath made the world itself insatiate
It hugges these monsters and deformed things
Better then what Johnson or Drayton sings
As in North villages where every line
Of Plumpton Parke is held a work divine.
If o'er the chimney they some ballads have
Of Chevy Chase or of some branded slave
Hang'd at Tyborne, they their Matins make it
And Vespers too, and for the Bible take it.

The "relations" of news are extremely numerous, as also the references to them in contemporary literature, and numbers of them are to be found entered in the Stationers' Registers.[1]

When these "relations" became periodical, and when,

ing at cocks. *Cf. Mercurius Fumigosus*, 21st-28th February, 1655, p. 309 :—

There is mirth and merriment
To fling at thin chapt' Jack-a-Lent
With leaden sticks for pins and casters
Regain their losses, and disasters
With trebble sticks and left hand blows
To venture all at twopence for three throws
And then at last an empty coxcombe flings
But neither touches the cock's taile or wings
Curses the sticks and when his coin is dry
The cockney fool sans cock away doth fly.

[1] Arber's reprint of the *Registers* covers the whole period up to 1640.

instead of being confined to a single event, they carried on continuously and at regular intervals the story of foreign news, the first English "newsbook" came into existence.

Before describing how this came about, it is necessary to explain the terminology of the time. We are accustomed to employ what may most conveniently be termed a "catchword" to describe a modern newspaper.[1] The *Times*, for instance, has no other and no fuller title, and all the numbers are connected together by this common catchword. This device was a growth, and the earliest English periodicals had no catchword at all. They happened to be the news of the week because they were published weekly, and that fact is frequently stated; but their full titles were descriptive of their contents and very often were wordy in the extreme (the examples given in the Appendix show this very clearly). All the earlier periodicals were books (*i.e.*, pamphlets), and were titled separately after the fashion of the books of the day. The catchword was gradually evolved from the commencing phrase of the full title, but not before the days of the Great Rebellion, and it was not until the Restoration of King Charles II. that lengthy additions were abandoned and the catchword alone employed. The descriptive name of the early printed periodicals of foreign news was "coranto," vulgarly a "currant" of news, or a running "relation". This word—Italian in its origin—is now of course supplanted by the French version of it, "courant," which came into use at a far later date; and until the year 1640 no other expression was used and no catchword employed. An earlier term, also occasionally employed (as a survival) to describe these periodicals, was "gazet," also Italian in origin, and of course referring to the well-known Venetian "gazetti" or written newspapers, circulated from about the

[1] "Catchword" really means the word placed at the bottom of a page in the right-hand corner of old books in order to connect one page with another. It therefore may be justifiably used to describe the modern newspaper titles used to connect one number with the rest.

middle of the sixteenth century. This term points unmistakably to the fact, that the Italians were the pioneers of modern newspapers, otherwise the terms would not be found in use in so far-off a country as Northern England.

Three alternative meanings have been assigned to the word "gazzetta". It has been held to refer to the ancient Venetian coin of that name, about three farthings in value, as either the price paid for the periodical or the fee for hearing it read. Both conjectures are extremely improbable, and the fee in each case is inadequate. The second meaning assigned to it was a "magpie," which is clearly absurd as the ancient periodicals are the reverse of chatterers. The third is derived from the Greek word γάζα, a treasury. The *History of the Athenian Society*, published in 1693, referring to a periodical then published called the *Athenian Gazette or Casuistical Mercury*, says: "Gaza signified a treasury and therefore we reserve it for the general title of our volumes, designing to entitle them the *Athenian Gazette*"; and this early explanation is the true one. The "gazetti" were written treasuries of news collected from all quarters; the "coranti," on the other hand, were printed running "relations," and the term was introduced to differentiate the printed news from the written news.

All English periodicals of news previous to the *Oxford Gazette* (16th Nov., 1665) were pamphlets. The etymology of the word pamphlet has not yet received a satisfactory elucidation. However, a pamphlet in the seventeenth century was a book of one or more sheets of paper folded into quarto pages and—if stitched together—unbound. Hence these pamphlets of news were invariably called "books," "books of news" and finally "news-books". No such term as "news-sheet" was ever employed with regard to the news-books; and though "sheet" is a term often employed, it refers only to the fact, that in the early days of the Long Parliament the pamphlets of news were restricted to one sheet (*i.e.*, eight pages). Later on two sheets (sixteen pages)

became the rule, and the early "corantos" usually consisted of three sheets. The term "news-sheet," or newspaper, up to the date of the *Oxford Gazette*, would have been taken to refer to a letter of news. The proper term, therefore, for the periodicals which appeared after the "corantos" is "news-book" or "newsbook," though the names "coranto," "intelligence," "diurnal" (for journal) and "pamphlet" were also employed.

The *Oxford Gazette* and its continuation, the still existing *London Gazette*, was, as Anthony à Wood states, "half a sheet in folio"—two pages—and neither a pamphlet nor a sheet. It could not, therefore, be called a "book" or "newsbook," and was at once dubbed a "paper" like the "letters of news" or "of intelligence". From this came into being, by analogy with the old expression newsbook, the terms 'newes paper" and newspaper, that of "newsletter" being afterwards applied to the written news, for which no other expression than "letter of news" or "of intelligence," "sheet of news" and "paper" can be found prior to the introduction of the word "newspaper". The *Oxford Gazette*, therefore, was the first English "newspaper".[1]

The word "publisher" was a term applied to the writer and not to the vendor of the periodical.[2] "Editor" also is quite a modern word, and the seventeenth century term for the writer of a newsbook was "author," once more bringing

[1] Examples: Thos. Swan to Henry Muddiman, privileged journalist of the Restoration, who at the date given had been supplanted by L'Estrange, and was then privileged writer of the *letters* of news only, 12th October, 1663: "I received your last *paper* and give you many thanks and I hope it will continue and that I shall have a renewal of your correspondence" (S. P. Dom., Chas. II., 81, No. 64). "By this post I send a letter franck with a gazett and a sheet of written news" (H. Muddiman to a correspondent (S. P. Dom., Chas. II., 152, No. 38)). The earliest known use of the term newspaper is contained in a letter to Charles Perrot, second editor of the *Gazette*: "I wanted your newes paper Monday last past" (S. P. Dom., Chas. II., 278, No. 148, 10th September, 1670).

[2] *E.g.*, *The Phœnix of Europe*, No. 1, 16th January, 1646. Published (*i.e.*, written) by W. Pendred.

into relief the fact that it was a book. The copyright of a newsbook also was the author's and not the stationer's or bookseller's. The case of Dillingham and Mabbott in 1648 (detailed later on) is an illustration of this.

The subject of advertising and the terminology employed with regard to it will be dealt with separately (Chapter IX.).

An important factor in the development of the "newsbooks" was the establishment of regular postal services between London and the country, and the Continent and London. In the year 1641 there was only one post a week. Every Tuesday letters were sent into the country from London. For a few years the war prevented any further development. It is not quite certain on what day the letters from the country and the Continent arrived, but it is probable that they usually arrived on Wednesdays as the "newsbooks" which made a speciality of foreign news were published on Thursdays. Continental news seems to have arrived chiefly through Harwich. At the end of the year 1647 or in 1648 a second post to the country was established, for the first number of *A Modest Narrative* (7th April, 1649) states, as the excuse for its appearance, that it was "by Authority provided that Saturday as well as Tuesday shall be a day for spreading letters by the post," adding that it was designed "for the country" and promising not to interfere with foreign news as that was published on Thursdays. Some time previously to this date, however, the "newsbooks" published on Fridays had assumed equal importance with those published on Mondays, therefore the date of the first number of the *Modest Narrative* must not be taken as marking the date of the introduction of the second post. From this time the postal arrangements continued to improve, and after the Restoration they received an immense amount of development, the modern postal system dating entirely from the reforms carried into effect under Charles II.

Until the institution of official journals, therefore, the "newsbook" authors who wished to obtain "special corre-

spondents" with the army or elsewhere were bound to curry favour with those in authority, in order to obtain the privilege of seeing their letters of news, or to gain permission to send their own letters with the Government expresses. An additional motive for subservience to those in power was thus supplied, and the newsbook author was only too glad to send letters of news (uncensored) with his newsbooks in return for any intelligence sent in this way.

Official journalism, that is periodicals published under the supervision of the Secretaries of State, owes its origin to Cromwell, and was accompanied by the total suppression of all licensed periodicals.

It was this official journalism which gave such an immense impetus to the circulation of the letters of intelligence, for they could be relied on to tell what the official journals carefully suppressed. Finally the liberty to report the proceedings of Parliament, which have always been the everyday fare of English newsbooks and newspapers, formed the staple of the newsbooks and the backbone of their prosperity. When this liberty was withdrawn, as an infringement of the privileges of Parliament, at the Restoration, or when Parliament itself ceased to exist, as in the days when Cromwell usurped all power, public interest in the newsbooks flagged and they fell into disrepute.

CHAPTER II.

THE CORANTOS. 1622 TO 1641.

WHICH country in Europe is entitled to the honour of having produced the first printed periodical of news has been a matter of considerable dispute. There are Dutch and Belgian claimants as well as French and German, and a discussion of the subject lies outside the range of this book. There is, however, no doubt as to which was the first foreign printed periodical circulating in England—and that long before any printed English periodical of foreign news appeared. This was *Mercurius Gallobelgicus*, a bound book printed at Cologne and written in Latin, with the obvious object of circulating throughout Europe, and detailing the story of the German wars. The first number was a thick little octavo of 625 pages, with an index, published in March, 1594, and containing a chronicle of events from 1588.

From this "newsbook" came the Latin title *Mercurius* used on so many English periodicals in the first half of the century. As Mercury was the messenger of the gods, so the writers considered themselves to be the messengers of the ruling powers—narrating high matters of State; and a periodical styling itself *Mercurius* was invariably alluded to as "he," and the full catchword was taken as a pseudonym.

The full title of the book was: *Mercurius Gallo Belgicus sive Rerum in Gallia et Belgio potissimum Hispania quoque Italia Germania Polonia Vicinisque locis ab anno* 1588 *usque ad Martium anni præsentis* 1594 *gestarum nuntius.* It contained a preface signed by its writer or "author," M. Jansen, who describes himself as a Frisian (German authorities state that the

writers of it varied), and was dedicated to two priests, brothers—John Detten, vicar and "coactor" of the cathedral and monastery, and Henry Detten, canon of the old church of St. Paul at Cologne.

It subsequently appeared in half-yearly volumes of 50 or 100 pages, up to the year 1635, was occasionally illustrated, and enjoyed a great vogue. In 1614 Robert Booth published a translation and abridgment of a number which he called "a discourse full of delight". This evidently attracted the attention of the Stationers to it as a mine for "relations". On 18th October, 1623, Lord Keeper Lincoln wrote to Secretary Calvert that he found a passage about the thirty-fifth page thereof "so full of falsities and indignities towards his majestie" that, although he knew in what "despicable esteem" the "author" had been for many years together, he had stayed the further publishing of it by express warrant. This proves that it had an extensive circulation in England.

In 1613 James I.'s daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, had married Frederic Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and the nation had thus become keenly interested in the struggles in Germany and Bohemia. Protestant England sympathised with Protestant Germany. Amsterdam was at this time, as Howell tells us, "the great staple of news," and penniless English soldiers from the Low Countries were in great request to make translations from "High Dutch" or "Low Dutch" and write "relations" for the booksellers. Shirley, in *The Schoole of Complement*, opens the play by giving a description of one of these "captains without book," who would "write you a battle in any part of Europe at an hour's warning," and says, "not a soldier shall lose a hair or have a bullet fly between his arms but shall have a page to wait upon him in quarto, nothing destroys 'em but want of a good memory for if they escape contradiction they may be chronicled".

The "relations" soon developed into a periodical. On 4th August, 1621, John Chamberlain informed his patron

Dudley Carleton, Ambassador at the Hague, that a proclamation had been issued against discussing matters of State, but it was disregarded, and "corantos published every week" with all manner of news. No periodical, however, can be traced, and Chamberlain's expression probably only has reference to the fact that the "relations" were appearing so frequently as to assume the character of a periodical.

A few months later, however, the following entry occurs in the Stationers' Registers (18th May, 1622): *A Currant of generall newes. Dated the* 14*th of May last,* and with this entry commences the history of British journalism. No copy of this pamphlet is in existence, but the next number (dated the 23rd of May, and presumably entered in the Stationers' books by mistake as dated the 21st), the second of a series published every week by the same booksellers—Thomas Archer and Nicholas Bourne—is to be found in the Burney Collection. It was translated from the Dutch, and calls itself: *The* 23 *of May. Weekely Newes from Italy, Germanie, Hungaria, Bohemia, the Palatinate, France, and the Low Countries, etc.* Of the succeeding numbers each bore a title, different in nearly every case, giving a similar synopsis of its contents. The dates were the very conspicuous commencement of the titles.

The credit of publishing the first English periodical therefore is due to Thomas Archer and Nicholas Bourne alone, no one else before this period, or until the end of the first week of the following September, being associated with either of them. The name of the licenser was Cottington. Thomas Archer lived in Pope's Head Palace over against the Horse Shoe, at the corner of Pope's Head Alley and Cornhill, and Nicholas Bourne at the Exchange. Thomas Archer had commenced his career as a newsmonger, taking priority of all his contemporaries, so far back as 19th March, 1603, when he entered in the Stationers' books *A copie of a letter touching a relacion of newes sent from Amsterdam the* 21 *of February* 1603 *concerning the fight of five Duche ships in the*

Easte Indies against the Portingall flete consistinge of 8 *great gallions and* 22 *gallies whereof was Admiral Don Andrew Tartailo Mendoza.* The title is illustrative of many others that followed.

In order to curtail an account which would otherwise become tedious, it may be briefly stated that the weekly news now issued bore a title descriptive of the contents of each number, which varied from week to week; that other stationers—Nathaniel Butter, Newbery, Downes and Sheffard—associated their names in turn with Archer and Bourne; and that the "corantos" were numbered from the second week of October, 1622. It seems perfectly clear that even at this early date there was a system of advertising these periodicals by contents bills displayed on the walls and posts. Holland writes:—

> . . . But to behold the walls
> Butter'd with weekly Newes composed in Pauls
> By some decaied Captaine, or those Rooks
> Whose hungry brains compile prodigious books
> Of Bethlem Gabor's preparations and
> How terms betwixt him and th' Emperor stand.

And adds:—

> To see such Batter everie week besmeare
> Each publike post and church door and to heare
> These shameful lies would make a man in spight
> Of nature, turn satirist and write
> Revenging lines against these shamelesse men
> Who, thus torment both paper, presse, and pen
> Th' imposters that these trumperies do utter
> Are A.B.C.D.E.F.G. and (. . .)

A nameless periodical of weekly news was thus in existence, with varying publishers' names attached, though all those mentioned in it had a financial interest from time to time. Only occasionally does there appear to have been any competition between the various booksellers who published "corantos," and once Butter is to be found remonstrating with a competitor with whom he afterwards joined forces. Sometimes the address of one bookseller will be found on a

periodical when the names of other booksellers appear as publishers, and occasionally the periodicals betray their origin, as in the case of the "coranto" dated 29th August, 1623, which though numbered 46 is also marked "Ital. Gazet. Nu. prio."

Nathaniel Butter, of the Pyde Bull, St. Austin's Gate, St. Paul's Churchyard, was, however, the chief publisher, and eventually, in 1624, he and Bourne were left as sole publishers to compete with Thomas Archer, who became in 1625 the publisher of a periodical which carried the first running title, *Mercurius Britannicus*. These early news pamphlets consisted usually of three sheets in twenty-four pages, and, judging from the remark of the old woman who comes to buy news in Jonson's "Staple of Newes," they would appear to have been sold at a groat or fourpence each, a much higher rate than the later newsbooks, which even when consisting of two sheets were sold at a penny. Butter was only their publisher; there is no evidence that he ever was a "newswriter".

In order to decide who wrote these "corantos" it is necessary to consider, firstly, the known London newswriters of the day, and, secondly, the works of Ben Jonson, who continually recurs to the subject and has left a whole play ridiculing a supposititious market or "staple" of news.

The leading London newswriters of the times were John Chamberlain, John Pory and Thomas Locke, and it cannot be supposed that they were the writers of the periodicals. They did not write "letters of news" to be posted all over the country after the manner of clerks or scriveners, but were attached to some great man as their patron.

Chamberlain has been called the Horace Walpole of his times. He was born in 1554, educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, had accompanied his patron, Dudley Carleton, on his first embassy to Venice, and was a cultured and observant man. His letters of news extend from 1598 until just before his death in 1627.

Pory was born about 1570, was educated at Gonville and

Caius College, and was possessed of equal attainments. He had been a member of Parliament, had written a book on Africa, and down to 1624 spent the bulk of his time in travelling over Europe, towards the end residing at Constantinople. His letters of news commence with his return to end his days in England in 1624, and extend to the date of his death.

Of Thomas Locke little is known, beyond the fact that he managed Dudley Carleton's affairs during his absence on his embassies, apparently being his steward, and that his letters of news, written only to Carleton, reveal that he was both intelligent and well educated. Thomas Locke is therefore the only one of the three who may have actually written a "coranto".

When Ben Jonson was young he joined the army in the Low Countries for a short time. There he had that single combat described by him to Drummond of Hawthornden. As he himself is the only witness to this, the story is probably but the pot-valiant tale of a "tavern king". When Jonson's quarrel with the rival dramatist, Dekker, culminated in 1601 with the production of the "Poetaster," Dekker revenged himself, in the following year, with "Satiro-Mastix". In this Jonson—a "man of the sword"—is represented as a rank coward. There are grounds for stating that he did not always tell the truth about his exploits, and Dekker's accusation may be true. He had killed a player on his return from Holland, in a duel he says, and though the latter's sword was ten inches longer—a most improbable detail. Modern research has established the fact, that he pleaded guilty to a charge of felony for this, which militates seriously against his story of a duel, escaped with his life by claiming the "benefit of clergy," and was branded on the thumb with the Tyburn "T".[1] He spent a short period of time in prison, during which he showed his repentance by being converted

[1] *Middlesex County Records*, vol. ii., by J. C. Jeaffreson.

to Catholicism, and he subsequently professed to have been constant for twelve years to the faith he then embraced.

It may be that Dekker received the idea of Jonson's cowardice from a soldier from the Low Countries, who knew the truth about Jonson's conduct there, and who had discredited his story of the single combat. If so, Jonson's savage "epigram" *To Captain Hungry*, a newswriter, with its suggestion that the "Captain" was a spy, is explained.

> Do what you come for, captain, with your news
> That's sit and eat, do not my ears abuse . . .
> Tell the gross Dutch those grosser tales of yours
> Tell them . . .
> What states you've gulled, and *which yet keeps you in pay*
> Give them your services, and embassies
> In Ireland, Holland, Sweden, pompous lies
> In Hungary and Poland, Turkey too
> Give your young statesmen . . .
> Your Villeroys and Silleries, etc.

His next "epigram" is addressed *To True Soldiers*, and he finds it necessary to write of the "great profession," and say he "did not shame it by my actions any more than by my pen," and he desires them not to be "angry for the Captain".

The meaning of the reference to Turkey, and the date of the "epigram" itself, are settled by the fact, that in 1613 Archer published a "relation" entitled: *A true declaration of the arrival of Cornelius Haga (with others that accompanied him) Ambassador for the general States of the United Netherlands, at the great city of Constantinople. Together with the entertainment unto them given by the Turk, etc.*[1] John Pory first went to Turkey in 1613, and may have sent the account from which this was taken.

The next reference to the "Captain" is in *An Execration upon Vulcan* in 1623, after the weekly "corantos" had commenced. Jonson's library had been burned, and instead of his beloved books, he writes that he would rather have seen devoted to the flames

[1] Reprinted in the *Harleian Miscellanies*.

> Captain Pamphlets horse and foot that sally
> Upon the Exchange, out of Pope's Head Alley
> The weekly Corrants with Paul's seal and all.

Here again the "Captain" is mentioned—now in connection with Archer—for Archer lived in Pope's Head Alley. Printers of news had already been glanced at in the masque, *Newes from the World in the Moon*, as being ready to "give anything for a good copy now, be it true or false, so it be newes". More references to the "Captain" mark the period of his death. In the *Staple of Newes*, when the old woman comes to buy some news in the office of the staple, she is told: "Do, good woman, have patience, it is not as when the 'Captain' lived". And in Fletcher's *Fair Maid of the Inn*, in the writing of which play there is some reason to think Jonson may have had a hand, occurs the passage:—

> For.: It shall be the ghost of some lying stationer, a spirit shall look as if butter would not melt in his mouth, a new *Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus*.
>
> Cox: O, there *was* a captain *was* rare at it, etc.

The "Captain" therefore was an actual person and not a type, and an old soldier against whom Jonson had a grudge. And this "Captain" was dead by 1625, when the *Staple of Newes* and *Fair Maid of the Inn* were written. One of John Chamberlain's letters now gives the key to his identification. He wrote to Carleton on 4th September, 1624, and, in mentioning the deaths from plague during the previous week, states that there was among them "Captain Gainsford *our* newsmonger or maker of gazets".[1]

Excluding Thomas Gainsford the author, who was not a soldier at all, the only Captain Gainsford who was likely to have been the gazet-maker was Captain Francis Gainsford. In 1598 Francis Gainsford wrote to the Earl of Essex: "I make myself known to you as one that have continually spent my time in service of Her Majesty in the Low

[1] S. P. Dom., Jas. I., 172, No. 5. Both the Calendar and Birch's *Court and Times of James I.* misspell the name as "Gainford". It is very clearly Gainsford in the original.

Countries these ten or twelve years, as lately in following your lordship in both your late voyages, being in your first voyage corporal to your troop of horse at Calles, and the last voyage I commanded a company of foot under Captain Williams, being appointed by you as his lieutenant. For my sufficiency I refer myself to the report of Sir Francis Vere, Sir Nicholas Parker and Sir Oliver Lambert who have seen the trial of my service as well on horseback as on foot. Withal I entreat that I may have a company into Ireland."[1]

The Irish State Papers then give an account of the rest of his career. There are three accounts of how Captain Francis Gainsford was shot and "sore wounded" at the camp at Faher, on 5th October, 1605, and he is described as "a very worthy officer of the field," by Lord Clanricarde. He recovered from his wound, and on 9th March, 1606, is described as "Francis Gainsford, recipient of a pension of 3.9d per diem in respect of a maim received in Her late Majestiy's wars". And it is clearly he who is referred to in the list of "knights, servitors and *pensioners*," applying for land in the Ulster plantations in 1609. This he did not obtain, for there is no cross affixed to his name in the list.

This brave old soldier, who had worked his way up from the ranks, and had been "sore wounded," and whose prowess is certified by every one under whom he had served—including the famous Sir Francis Vere, almost, if not quite, the most celebrated general of the age, is therefore almost certainly the man whom Jonson attacks as "Captain Hungry," writing news for his bread. The "captain" was often ridiculed, but he seems at any rate to have had a most creditable past. To Francis Gainsford, soldier of Queen Elizabeth, as writer, and to Thomas Archer, as publisher (for it is evident that Bourne played a minor part), with their "corantos" or "currants," may be attributed, therefore, the first news periodicals, but the ultimate development of their

[1] *Calendar of the MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield*, vol. 8, p. 556.

modest little pamphlets into the modern English newspapers would have been the wildest of chimeras to them.

Jonson's attack may be explained as having a secondary cause quite apart from his quarrel with Dekker. Francis Gainsford was not one of the Surrey Gainsfords, nor was he of the Essex branch of the family. In 1601 John Gray received a grant of the benefits of the "recusancy" of Margaret and John Gainsford of Idbury, Oxford, and in 1612 Sir Richard Wigmore for the same reason received a grant of two parts of the land of John Gainsford and Margaret Gainsford, widow, both then described as of St. Dunstans, London. If, as seems probable from his settling in London and writing the "corantos," Francis Gainsford was a relation of theirs, and had been driven to the wars for a living, the reason why no land in Ulster was given to him is possibly explained. According to his own account, Ben Jonson must have become a Protestant about 1612, which would quite explain a possible exposure of his stories of the war in the Low Countries by Francis Gainsford, and the resulting "epigram" addressed to "Captain Hungry".

If Gainsford found a patron and helper in his work in John Chamberlain, it would confirm all that is known of the character of the latter. And it is equally in accordance with what has already been said of Jonson, that he actually should have attacked Chamberlain. In his masque, *Newes from the New World*, produced in 1620, he had described a "factor" of news who wrote "a thousand letters a week ordinary, sometimes twelve hundred," and who goes on to say, "I have friends of all ranks, and *all religions*, for which I keep an answering catalogue of dispatch wherein I have my puritan news, my protestant news, and my pontifical news". Then he adds that he hopes "to erect a staple for newes" ere long, thus forecasting the play which appeared five years later. Here it is a writer of letters who is satirised—not the writer of a printed periodical. Before the play appeared Gainsford died. The fact that Chamberlain is attacked in

the play therefore is noticeable, and argues some sort of patronage and assistance rendered by him to the humbler newswriters, for it would be only natural for Chamberlain to employ Captain Gainsford as an "emissary" to pick up news on Change.

Before the play appeared, however, the masque of *Neptune's Triumph for the Return of Albion* was written, and it clearly attacked Chamberlain. It was not performed until 1626. In the dialogue between the "cook" and the "poet," the cook describes his "olla podrida" of personified dishes; he says of the persons that they are "on quest of enquiry after newes," and the boy, his son, adds "And of the Epicene gender, hees and shees, Amphibian Archy is the chief". (Chamberlain died unmarried. Archy Armstrong was the Court fool, who had been to Spain with Prince Charles and Buckingham.)

The cook goes on: "Good boy. The child is learned too; note but the kitchen. Have you put him into the pot for garlic?" Boy: "One in his coat shall stink as strong as he, sir, and his friend Giblets with him". Cook: "They are two that give a part of the seasoning".

"Kitchen" was an expression for seasoning, and kitchen for bread was butter. "Giblets" was a contemporary expression of contempt; therefore "kitchen" and "giblets" evidently refer to Butter and Bourne, at that time in partnership. The "one in his coat," that is clothed with a pseudonym, refers to *Mercurius Britannicus*. A few lines farther on the cook, again referring to the contents of the "olla podrida," says:—

> Grave Master Ambler, newes master o' Pauls
> Supplies your capon; and grown captain, Buz,
> His emissary, under writes for Turkey.

Both the writer and the age justify the statement that "Ambler" is a play upon Chamberlain's name. His "emissary" now is Buz, who has "grown" to be "captain"—that is, has taken Gainsford's place. Master Ambler is

once more introduced into the *Staple of Newes*, produced in the same year: "A fine paced gentleman who walks in the middle aisle at Pauls," and also "my froy Hans Buz, a Dutchman, he's emissary Exchange". Hans Buz can be easily identified as Mathew de Quester (an anglicised form of one of the German or Dutch names "Coester" or "Koster") who was at the time Master of Foreign Posts. Butter is introduced into the play, but quite openly, and simply as a rascal "buttering" up and selling under new titles his seven-year-old news. He is not the principal character, Cymbal, who is opposed to printing, and is a *writer*. Finally, in the fifth scene of the first act of the *Staple of Newes* the same sneering reference recurs to "Reformed news, Protestant news, and Pontifical news," and the question is asked, "But what says *Mercurius Britannicus* to this?"

> CYMBAL: O, sir, he gains by't half in half——
>
> FITTON: Nay more, I'll stand to't. For where he was wont to get in hungry Captaines, obscure statesmen——
>
> CYMBAL: Fellows to drink with him in a dark room and eat a sausage . . . now all that charge is saved.

Mercurius Britannicus, therefore, was the former employer of the Captain, and at the time was publishing a periodical under that name. Before describing *Mercurius Britannicus*—the first "newsbook" with a name—it will be best to point out a possible origin of the periodical.

Among the State papers is a *draft* memorandum or letter, attributed (in the Calendar of 1619-1623) to Sir Thomas Wilson, Keeper of the Records, and assigned to the year 1621; apparently because in the following year the first periodical is known to have arisen, as we have seen. It is not signed, dated, or addressed to any one, and most assuredly is not in the handwriting of Sir Thomas Wilson, nor is there any evidence, either external or internal, to connect it with him. It is clearly a draft, which has been altered, the paragraphs of which are numbered out of their order, and was probably sent or shown to Secretary of State Calvert or

Conway for approval. The handwriting strongly resembles that of Thomas Locke.

When writing to Dudley Carleton, Chamberlain and Locke were in the habit of addressing him as "My lord," for Carleton was an ambassador though not yet a peer. The document says towards the end, "my suit is that your lordship would give me leave to be a suitor to the King that Mr Pory and myself may receive a patent to be the Overseers of all books of humanity that shall be printed, that he will give unto us a fee of £20 per annum to each of us for our pains and with all to give us leave to print the gazetts or weekly occurrents which we shall get from other parts, that none may print them without our licence, and for this we will give his Majesty as much rent as he shall give us for overseeing books for £20 a year more, so that we may have a patent of this to us and our assigns."

The writer winds up by pointing out that "procuring advices from foreign parts is to me chargeable and nothing profitable," and states that the course he proposes is "a means that I should always be a historical memorial always ready of whatsoever shall pass in the world". The reference to Pory fixes the date of this at about the time of his return in 1624, which coincided with the date of Francis Gainsford's death.

Previously to making the above request, the writer pointed out some extraordinary motives and inducements for the setting up of an official British newsbook. It was "to settle a way that when there shall be any revolt or backsliding in matter of religion or obedience (which commonly grows upon rumours among the vulgar) to draw them in by the same lines that drew such out by speeding amongst them such reports as may best make for that matter to which they never would have been drawn". Of this he continues, "ancient times afford many precedents and for modern weekly gazetts as from the centre of news" dispersed all "occurrents" to all parts of the world. "This sells *Mercurius*

Gallo-Belgicus now in Germany, the 'advisoes' in France and the 'Novells' in Italy and Spain. In which point no country is so heavy as our Britain, which I have heard reproved in foreign parts for the negligence herein. From Antwerp, Brussels, Hague, Bulloyn, Frankfort, Prague, Vienna, Gratz, Venice, Florence, Rome, Naples, Genoa, Spain, Paris and Lyons we have the occurrents every week." And he asks why Britain should be behind the rest of the world. Much good he thinks would come if the ploughman and the artisan were to know the events of the day like their continental brothers, though he acknowledges that his own private benefit was the greatest motive to him in the matter.

Another inducement offered for setting up a British newsbook was "to establish a speedy and ready way whereby to disperse into all the veins of the whole body of a State such matters as may best temper it, and be most agreeable to the disposition of the head and principal members upon all occasions that shall afford".[1]

Nothing more likely to appeal to James could be imagined. The same idea was to occur in 1663 to Roger L'Estrange, and to be described by him in his preface to the *Intelligencer*, when he states that the "common people's affections are" (more) "capable of being tuned and wrought upon by convenient hints and touches in the shape of a pamphlet than by the strongest reasons and best notions imaginable under any other and more sober form whatsoever"; and it was put into the most active practice during the Rebellion and so-called "Protectorate".

The existing periodical of weekly news did not extend so far in scope as the journal thus outlined, and only published translations of foreign news. What followed can only be inferred. Probably the establishment of a *Mercurius Britannicus* on the lines of a *Mercurius Gallo-Belgicus* was thought too great a leap in the dark, and James I. died on the 27th March, 1625. No patent was granted, but a periodical

[1] S. P. Dom., Jas. I., 124, No. 113 (Calendar of 1619-23).

was now issued and stated to be "printed for Mercurius Britannicus"—"Mercurius Britannicus" being given in conspicuous type. Here then at last is the first "coranto" with a name; as the play, the *Staple of Newes*, testifies. Several numbers of this are in the Burney Collection. The first in existence is No. 16, dated 7th April, 1625; after No. 23, issued on 24th May, there is a break in the collection; there is then a solitary, unnamed "coranto," issued by Thomas Archer alone, dated 10th November, 1625, and called No. 5. *Mercurius Britannicus* then reappears in the Burney Collection with No. 2, 5th January, 1625-26; but whether it continued longer than the last number in the collection, No. 7, dated 8th February, 1625-26, there is nothing to show. The periodical gives evidence of being written by a writer of better education than that of its predecessor; it is no longer a bare translation from the Dutch, and shows that it has a private correspondence of its own all over Europe. It still only deals with foreign news. No "corantos" marked *Mercurius Britannicus* exist of a later date than February, 1625-26.

The Stationers' Register (not a very good guide) sheds absolutely no light on this periodical, which is not entered in it at all. A calculation of the dates backwards leads to the conclusion that the first number must have been issued on 23rd February, 1624-25. That it had no connection with Butter and Bourne is clear, for Butter's nameless periodicals are entered in the Stationers' Register concurrently, as follows: No. 7, entered on 8th February, and Nos. 10 and 11, entered on 7th March.

After the entry of 7th March, 1624-25, no entry of any news-pamphlet of any kind whatever occurs until 19th June, 1627. On that day the names of Butter and Bourne reappear, and the entry runs: "Received of them for all currants of newes until the first day of August, 1627, xv.^{s}/-" Fifteen shillings was the payment for thirty numbers; that is to say, that Butter and Bourne then paid for their

periodicals from 3rd January, 1626-27, to the following August.

Now John Chamberlain died in March of that year and was buried in St. Olave's, Old Jewry, on 20th March. If, then, the project of a true *Mercurius Britannicus* was his, his wishes would seem to have been met by allowing him to supervise the writing of the *Mercurius Britannicus* which, as has been shown, existed at least during the years 1625 and 1626. He was too old a man to publish it himself; so probably it lasted until the end of the year 1626, the year of Chamberlain's last illness. In fact, Thomas Locke, who may have had something to do with the writing of it, also disappears altogether about the time of Chamberlain's death. The question as to who "Mercurius Britannicus," the publisher, was, can be settled with certainty. At the end of No. 6, dated 1st February, 1625-26, is to be found the earliest advertisement (an isolated instance twenty-two years before the introduction of newsbook advertising): "*Here* is this present day published an excellent Discourse concerning the match between our most Gracious and Mightie Prince Charles Prince of Wales and the Lady Henrette Maria daughter to Henry the fourth late King of France etc., sister to Lewis the thirteenth now king of these dominions. Manifesting the Royall ancestors of both these famous Princes and truly explaining the several interchanges of marriages which hath been between France and England. With the lively picture of the Prince and lady cut in Brasse".

This can be easily identified (by comparison with the book's verbose full English title) as the *Epithalamium Gallo-Britannicum*, etc., etc., of George Marcelline, published by Archer. Archer, therefore, was the publisher of the second, as he also was of the first, British periodical, and from this periodical, and not from Butter's, the "Mercury women," who sold newsbooks in the streets, clearly derived their name.

The interval between 1627 and 1641 shows a complete absence of that journalistic activity which had been displayed up to the time of John Chamberlain's death. Butter and Bourne now retained the field unopposed—still as publishers of "corantos" of foreign news only.

Archer appears to have entered into competition with them again in 1628, for two "corantos" printed for him are in the Record Office—No. 6, dated August 7; and No. 7, dated August 15; but he also died in 1634.

Two interesting comments on the difficulties of the press at the time are supplied by the State Papers. One is the (undated) petition of William Phillips, who was committed to the Gate House for translating a small French pamphlet, for Newbery, one of the stationers associated with Butter. He was very ill, and prayed for a release, which he obtained. (Alas, the next document to this is "A petition" from Abigail, his widow, a few weeks later, which states that she had been left with "foure small children," and begs that Newbery, as the person really guilty, might be ordered to contribute to her support.) The other is the petition of William Stansby, printer, for pardon and restitution to business. He had printed some news for Butter, and as a result his printing presses were broken down, and his printing house was nailed up. Stansby afterwards printed the first complete edition of Ben Jonson's works.

In the *Coranto*, No. 9, 16th July, 1630, the "Publisher" addressed the reader with the statement that "we" had lost money for ten months, "which was the cause we published scarce one a moneth". What the public desired was "action," which seldom fell out in the winter, and the publisher winds up: "We presume we shall now fit their humour with action enough every weeke if their purses be as ready to pay as we shall be ready to publish, the greatest talkers of newes (as the Pauls walkers) are the poorest buyers. Farewell".

Unfortunately for Butter, it soon was farewell in good earnest, for on 17th October, 1632, the Star Chamber pro-

hibited the printing of all "gazetts" and news from foreign parts, as well Butter's and Bourne's as others.

On 30th September, 1633, Butter and Bourne petitioned the King to be permitted to publish news again, but, though a favourable endorsement appears on the petition, nothing was done until 20th December, 1638, when, after six years' silence, Butter and Bourne were given the monopoly of printing news—still foreign news only—by Royal Letters Patent, for the term of twenty-one years, "they paying yearly towards the repair of St. Paul's the sum of £10". About this time (on 11th July, 1637), the Star Chamber issued its second set of decrees on licensing. These were on similar lines to the decrees of Elizabeth, but ampler and fuller, and were aimed at the Puritan pamphleteers. They also gave power to the Vice-Chancellors and Chancellors of the two Universities to license books, and restricted the number of London printing presses to twenty. (This last restriction was not an unpopular one, and the Stationers' petition to the Long Parliament, printed in 1643, asked for a similar restraint of the number of presses.)

It is curious that Butter and Bourne's monopoly should have been granted only eighteen months later. They evidently decided to begin again in good style, for No. 1 of their new book of news, which was dated 20th December, 1638, covered the news of six months, and consisted of no less than ninety-six pages. It contained a preface—"The Currantiers to the Readers"—and also the first illustration—a full-page picture of the eruption of a volcano at sea. Anthony à Wood tells us that William Watts, of Caius College, Cambridge, and D.D., Oxon., Rector of St. Alban's, Wood Street, and afterwards chaplain to Prince Rupert (in the field), was now their "author," and wrote more than forty of their newsbooks "containing the occurrences done in the wars between the King of Sweden and the Germans". But Butter's periodicals were still without a catchword, obviously because they had no competitor. He soon got into trouble

with the licenser, and his periodicals were again suppressed, and again permitted to reappear, on 9th January, 1640, with another address, "The Printer to the Reader," stating that they had found a more "candid" licenser, and would for the future be issued every week. Butter's name occurs several times on periodicals among the crowd of "diurnals" dealing with Parliamentary proceedings, that sprang up like mushrooms in 1642, but gradually he was lost sight of, and he died on 22nd February, 1664, "very poor".[1]

Pamphlets of all kinds now "as numerously invaded and infested the world as Flyes a great man's kitchen or a butcher's shambles in the summer season, all of them consisting of more words and iterations than either worth or weighty matter". From these step by step was evolved the "newsbook".

[1] Smith's *Obituary*, Camden Society.

CHAPTER III.

THE LONG PARLIAMENT TO 14TH JUNE, 1643.

THE struggle between King Charles I. and his Houses of Parliament, which culminated with the meeting of the Long Parliament, on 3rd November, 1640, led to a crisis in the history of licensing. War, as has been seen, originated the appearance of the periodical of foreign news—the "corranto"—and though war in its most odious form, between men speaking the same language and professing the same faith, was to cause a development of the "newsbooks" which followed the "corantos," to an extent which seems hardly credible (all the main features of the modern newspaper being found in them within seven years), it was not to be the actual source of their origin. This is to be found in the proceedings of Parliament.

The political struggle was between the King and his Parliament—not between the King and his people. Although the majority of the people were on the side of the Parliament when hostilities broke out, this was not the case when they came to an end. Of this the story of the Royalist *Mercuries* will afford overwhelming proof. The nation wished to know what was being said and done in Parliament—the Cavalier no less than the Roundhead. The demand was for news, nothing but news, and as a result the whole literature of the next year is confined to printed pamphlets of "speeches" in Parliament or "relations" of this or that incident connected with them. The points at issue between the King and his Parliament were twofold—political and religious; and therefore, as the religious side of the dispute was the cause of all the bitterness and animus of the coming

struggle, it is necessary, while expressly disclaiming, as Thomasius says, any intention to "put one's sickle into the field of dread Theology," to state roughly what the parties were.

In faith, as opposed to ritual and discipline, little difference existed between Puritan and Royalist. The bulk of the clergy probably were Calvinists—though Archbishop Laud and his immediate followers were certainly not. One paradoxical result of the judicial murder of the Archbishop and of the success of the Rebellion has been, that Calvinism has been practically rooted out of England by the reaction which followed it.[1] This is a point which is often forgotten. What the people wanted to get rid of was the tyranny of the Bishops' Courts—the Star Chamber, the High Commission, and the rest. As to the bishops themselves they were indifferent; but a hatred of Catholicism had been implanted in them by a steady educational process, carried on for a hundred years by those very bishops who now, so they were told by the Puritan preachers, intended to lead them back to Rome. At the commencement of the Rebellion, therefore, all the Puritans were combined into one great Presbyterian body—that is a church consisting of priests or presbyters without bishops.

Socially as well as intellectually the strict Presbyterians were the equals of the Cavaliers. These were not the Independents; they were the men who were called the "Roundheads"—would-be ascetics, who cut their hair short, detested stage plays, wore rusty black, and talked in Scriptural phrases with a snuffle. Absolutely intolerant, however, the Presbyterians were bent on enforcing the entire submission of the nation to the rigid Genevan mode of church discipline and government, as held (at the time) in Scotland—a system if anything even more

[1] See the *Articles of the Christian Religion*, passed by Parliament on 21st June, 1648, for a short and clear exposition of the Calvinistic creed held in those days. E. 449.

inquisitorial and interfering with domestic life than ever that of the bishops had been. This brought into relief the fact, that a large part of their supporters were the "Independents" —men who held that any congregation or collection of men had the right to devise their own form of creed and church government for themselves. It will be seen at once that the Independent standard was so wide in its definition as to render it possible for almost any sect to march under it; thus, though all were Presbyterians alike until the success of the Parliamentary cause, yet with that success was bound to arise a quarrel over the questions of church discipline and toleration—not toleration as we understand it, but a spurious and derisory toleration limited to those Christians who were neither Catholic nor Protestant Episcopalian. The controversy between the Presbyterian and the Independent however did not affect the newsbooks until the year 1646. It will not, therefore, be necessary to notice further the religious question, until the date when the King surrendered himself to the Scots.

On 5th July, 1641, the King gave his consent to the Act abolishing the Star Chamber, and with this, at one fell swoop, the whole of the licensing system was abolished. For some time the literature of the day consisted of nothing but the speeches and "relations," most of which will be found entered in the Stationers' Registers under the hands of the different members of Parliament responsible for them. One very serious effect, therefore, of this hasty abolition—the fact that copyright in the matter or title of a book was jeopardised—was slow to become apparent. Whether such a thing as copyright at Common Law existed at all was then still an open question.

The published speeches were written by clerks or scriveners, and revised by the members themselves before being sent to the press. The art of "Tachygraphy or short-writing" as it was called was in its infancy, and thus must have received great impetus. "Clerk" and "scrivener"

were synonymous terms, applied not only to the person who filled the places occupied by the mortgage broker, the conveyancing solicitor or barrister, and the law stationer nowadays, but also to those who wrote the letters of news which were circulated in the country. The great requisites for the profession (which was prepared for by a long apprenticeship) were good handwriting and knowledge of English; for a knowledge of the law does not seem to have been necessary, though no doubt it was desirable.[1] In November, 1641, a whole volume of these speeches, etc., appeared under the title of *Diurnall Occurrences*, dating from 3rd November, 1640, to 3rd November, 1641, and printed for a bookseller called William Cooke, who also published several smaller volumes with similar titles.

In abolishing the Star Chamber, Parliament had not for a moment thought of freeing the press, and still less of conferring freedom from licensing; for the abolition of the bishops and their jurisdiction was their sole object. The journals of the House of Lords show, that a committee must have been at once appointed on the abolition of the Star Chamber, to consider the question of regulating the press. Of its actual appointment there is no record, but on 20th October, 1641, the committee was ordered to "meet again on account of the complaints made of printing pamphlets and unlicensed books". The breach between the King and Parliament was widening day by day, and by the month of November men's minds were in a very excited condition. The tidings of a rebellion and massacre in Ireland added fuel to the flames; awful atrocities were laid at the door of the

[1] *The Compleat Clark and Scrivener's Guide* (July, 1655), printed by T. R. for H. Twiford, is a good-sized manual of precedents in conveyancing, which shows that indentures of all kinds were entrusted to scriveners. The Scriveners' Company is the forty-fourth in rank of the City Guilds, was originally known as the "Writers of the Court Letter," and incorporated in 1616. Being "reduced to low circumstances," it sold its hall in Noble Street, Cheapside, to the Company of Coachmakers at the end of the seventeenth century.

native Irish, and no falsehood was too gross and no story too improbable to be believed about them.

On 11th November, 1641, letters concerning the outrages were read in Parliament, and at the end of the month the first printed periodical of domestic news appeared. One of the scriveners alluded to had seen his opportunity, and instead of having his letter of news copied he had obtained permission to have it printed. The author of *A Presse full of Pamphlets* (April, 1642) writes: "The first inventors of the Art of Printing Pamphlets in the last remarkable year of Printing was clerks, or a clerk, as it is supposed, who being but a single man could not be contented to live of 15/- the week, which he might gain by writing the true proceedings in Parliament and till printing were unquestionable, and other passages concerning the same, which gentlemen of good worth delighted in. But in hope of more gain to himself by the undoing of others, put the first copy of the *Diurnall Occurrences* that was printed to a printer, and then came all other things true and false to the presse. This was the first step to the ruinating of the tribe of clerks."

Accordingly, on 29th November, 1641, I. T. (John Thomas) published an eight-page pamphlet, having as outside title. *The Heads of Severall Proceedings in the Present Parliament.* This pamphlet appeared weekly, with variations of its title according to its contents, and on 20th December the inside title was transferred to the outside, and became *Diurnal Occurrences*, etc., and the pamphlet was printed for J. T. and T. B. Nathaniel Butter joined Thomas as publisher on 3rd January, 1641-42, and on 10th January appeared another *Diurnall Occurrences*, printed for William Cooke.

Ireland's True Diurnall, dealing with Irish affairs, and printed and written by William Bladen, appeared on 3rd February; but it was an intermittent and not a weekly periodical, dependent for its news on Bladen's father—a

A PERFECT DIVRNALL OF THE PASSAGES In Parliament:

From the 26. of Decemb. to the 2. of Ianuary.

Collected by the same hand that formerly drew up the Copy for William Cook *of Furnifulls Inne. being now printed by* I: Okes, Fr: Leach, *and are to be sold by* Fr: Coles *in the Old Baily.* 1642.

Courteous Reader, take heed of a false and scandalous Diurnal which is this day printed, & fashioned with such a model like this, by a company of Grub-street mercenary fellowes: let this note bee your informer to distinguish them hereafter by the Printers names and the Booke-seller which are here nominated.

Munday the 26. of December.

THere came Letters to the Houses from the Earle of Warwick informing that the prisoners taken in Devon-shire at the fight neare Plymouth, were brought up by Sea to Gravesend, being seaventeene of them Gentlemen and chiefe Commanders; a List of their names he also sent to the House, desiring that they would take a course that some of the *Militia* of London might be appointed to guard them from thence to London. Whereupon it was ordered that there should be forty Musqueteers appointed to fetch them from thence, and that they should be committed to Wincheſter and Lambeth house. and that the Keepers of the said prisons should have command to keepe them in safe custody, upon an

Jan. 2d

Dublin alderman.[1] Other *Diurnal Occurrences* began also to appear, and at last, on 31st January, was issued the first periodical with an attempt at a "catchword," *A Perfect Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament*, with no printer's name attached to it, but also printed for William Cooke. *A True Diurnall Occurrences*, "averred by R. P. clerke," also appeared on 7th February, and was published by John Hammond, the number for 14th February being "averred by I.B." (*i.e.*, John Bond hereafter mentioned). The success of the catchword, *A Perfect Diurnall*, must have been immediate, as also that of *A Continuation of the True Diurnall*, which numbered itself, and appeared about the same time with no publisher's name attached.

Both were immediately counterfeited, and their titles were appropriated, particularly that of *A Perfect Diurnall*, of which no less than eight different varieties, published by different booksellers, can be counted during the year 1642. "Now the wheeles of men's brains were turned round," writes *A Presse full of Pamphlets*, and "the eyes of their wits were wandering over the earth to find a means of honest subsistence by their industry, and at last perceiving their wits must be the chief means of their livelihood, they betook them to the same, and fearing the same for want of former practice were grown somewhat rusty, they conceived it were the more safest way to scour them with wine, beer, and tobacco in some honest ale-house or tavern, and being of the right nature or stamp of Englishmen, who think a thing to be never well enough done till it be overdone and prove useless or hurtful, they, in scouring their braines, fill'd the pan so full of liquor that they drown'd their wits, and so producing them uncapable of good action, betook themselves to fabulous invention, their wits being fluent with over much

[1] W. Bladen, the father, was sole printer in Ireland at the time. The Irish gentry petitioned that no Irish news should be published but what his son William had read and allowed (*Historical MSS. Commission, 4th Report*, App., p. 113 *b*).

moisture . . . they have filled the City and countries with the fruits of their taplush inventions". Then "they begin to go beyond sea for new Newes from Ireland, France, Spain, Italy, Denmarke, Portugal and part of Holland, but I cannot find any of them have bin at Amsterdam or New England. I hope these they reserve for their last refuge.

"And lastly, to conclude, this kind of new invented profession being growne to its last gaspe," they "come again to proceedings of the Parliament, the which they have so multiplyed, that in very Diurnals (some weeks) they can at one prodigious birth bring forth fifteen at a time".

All the various "diurnals" produced at this time were issued to the public on Mondays, the reason for this being the fact that Tuesday was the post day; consequently competition must have been intense, and we can well understand the "ruinating of the tribe of clerks" to which our author refers. All these "diurnals" also went through some process of licensing at the hands of the clerks of one or the other House, whose names frequently appear at the end or beginning.

Until the Restoration, the majority of the writers of the "diurnals" or "newsbooks" seem never to have been persons of repute. "Liar" was a term ordinarily applied to them, and we have the testimony of Mrs. Hutchinson on the Parliamentary side that they would deliberately write up a soldier's reputation for money. Nevertheless, a good deal of the hostile criticism was unjust, and defective intelligence accounted for a great many of the falsehoods laid at their door.

A Royalist writer says: "A Diurnal maker is the sub almoner of history, Queen Mab's register, one whom by the same figure that a north country pedlar is a merchant, you may stile him an author. . . . They call him a Mercury, but he becomes the epithet like a little negro mounted on the elephant—just such another blot rampant. He defames a good title as much as most of our modern noblemen—those

wens of greatness, the body politics most peccant humours blistered into Lords." (This is an allusion to the "Commonwealths" lords—a title conferred upon Bradshaw.) "To call him an historian is to knight a mandrake, 'tis to view him through a perspective and by that glass hyperbole to give the reputation of an engineer to a maker of mouse-traps. Such an historian would hardly pass muster with a Scotch stationer in a sieve full of ballads and almanacks. . . . The word Historian imports a sage and solemn author, one that curls his brow with a sullen gravity, like a bull necked presbyter—not such a squealing scribe as this that is troubled with the rickets and makes pennyworths of history. . . . In sum a diurnal maker is the antimask of an historian, he differs from him as a drill from a man or (if you had rather have it in the 'Saints' gibberish) as a 'Hinter' doth from a 'Holder forth'."[1]

The author first in the field can be indicated with something more than probability. The first of the patriarchs of English domestic journalism was Samuel Pecke, a scrivener with a little stall in Westminster Hall. His claim to the title of patriarch lies in the fact that he wrote not only the newsbooks entitled *Diurnal Occurrences*, etc., but also *A Continuation of Certain Special and Remarkable Passages Informed to both Houses of Parliament* (from 26th August, 1642, to 17th September, 1647, and published on Fridays), and the different *Perfect Diurnals*, printed at first by William Cooke, and afterwards by Okes, Leach and Coles, and others, from 31st January, 1642, to 24th September, 1655, and published on Mondays. These latter periodicals, up to the year 1648, were the most important of all the newsbooks, and were the *Times* of the day; but in 1648 they became somewhat overshadowed by a rival entitled *Perfect Occurrences*, the importance of which was in part due to the fact that Saturday had

[1] *A Character of a Diurnal Maker*, 28th November, 1653, J. Cleiveland. I have adopted this spelling of his name, as also the spelling Berkenhead and Nedham, as being that used by the writers themselves.

been constituted a post-day as well as Tuesday. It appeared, therefore, every Friday, as the *Perfect Diurnal* appeared every Monday. Both pamphlets were twice the size of the others, consisting ultimately of two sheets (*i.e.*, sixteen pages) instead of one like the rest.

Up to 1647, however, Samuel Pecke was without a peer as newsmonger; it is regrettable, therefore, that we have but a few Royalist allusions to him, and only a solitary pamphlet to give an idea of his character. The industry and the "large volumes," of which this pamphlet speaks, point him out as the writer of the volume of *Diurnal Occurrences* from November, 1640, to November, 1641, already mentioned, and, from the adoption of this title in the first of the periodicals, as the writer of that also. The pamphlet, which is entitled *A Fresh Whip for all Scandalous Lyers; or A True Description of the Two Eminent Pamphliteers, or Squibtellers of this Kingdome* (9th September, 1647), calls him a "petty-fogging scrivener," and continues: "He was once a Stationer, till he crept into the little hole in Westminster Hall where indeed he began his trade of inditing or framing and so rose at last to the stile of the Diurnall-writer. I must confess at his first beginning to write he was very industrious, and would labour for the best intelligence as his large volumes do testifie, but when he found the sweetness of it, and how easily he could come by his intelligence he fell to his sports and pastimes, for you should hardly ever find him at home all the weeke, till Saturday morning, and then you should be sure to find him abed panting and puffing as if he had over rid himselfe with riding too and agen from the Army, when God wot hee hath not been out of the Lynes of Communication."

An accusation against his morals follows, coupled with the charge that "that which he should do on Saturday he must do on Sunday. This Merchant hath two printers to attend his worke, whereof one hath a man, that rather than it should be thought that he were not diligent enough for his

master, he will content himself with a piece of Thursdays newes for his prayers, Fridays intelligence for the first Sermon, and Saturdays for the afternoon lecture, and if it do not hold them over long, he will sit down and sing a psalme, or take a pipe of tobacco, and think he hath done God good service. 'Tis a shame such a Conventicle (I can tearm it no otherwise) which tends to the dishonour of God should be suffered."

In personal appearance his Royalist biographers say Pecke was a "bald headed buzzard" and "a tall thin faced fellow, with a Hawks nose, a meagre countenance and long runnagate legs, constant in nothing but wenching lying and drinking"; the last adding, that "he once made indentures with his hands, you may meet him late in the night, he commonly frequents Py-corner about mutton-time, and seldom walks without his she-intelligencer".

On 29th January, 1642, the House of Commons found time to pass an order, the first in a long series, levelled against the press. Part of the order was intended to protect copyright, but the most material portion was aimed at the diurnals. It runs as follows: "It is ordered that the Master and wardens of the company of Stationers shall be required to take especial order that the printers do neither print nor reprint anything without the consent and name of the author, that he shall then be proceeded against as both printer and author thereof and their names to be certified to this House". A second minatory order by the Lords on 21st March, reciting that news had been printed as if by order of the House and letters counterfeited as if from the King to the King of France, etc., warned those who should do the like "to look for no clemency" but "to expect a just severity".

About this time the clerk of Sir Edward Littleton, the Speaker of the House of Lords, having written *Some Passages that Happened the 9th of March between the King and the Committee when the Declaration was Delivered*, came under the censure of the House, and on 29th March, John Bond,

"a poor scholar having nothing else to live on," confessed to having forged a letter from the queen, and with Richard Broome, the author of the *Danes Plot*, and Bernard Alsop, printer, he was committed, but released on 15th April.

In the meantime an Act of Parliament had been under consideration. On 25th April, 1642, the Lords' Committee already mentioned (it seems to have been reappointed on 5th April at the Commons' request) reported that "they had met the King's Counsel to hear what information they could give them," and the latter had replied that "they had received no instructions from his Majesty as yet. Hereupon the Committee proceeded no further, but will be ready to meet again when the kingdome shall have directions from his Majesty". On 2nd May the judges cleared away a legal difficulty, by giving the Lords their "opinion that printing was publication".

The events which led up to the battle of Edgehill (which happened on 23rd October, 1642) are sufficient explanation of the reasons why Parliament did not for the moment proceed any further with its press legislation. The output of diurnals continued; but they were not creditable publications, and were as dishonest and as abusive of the royal cause as can well be imagined. In June Tobias Sedgwick, a Strand barber, was in trouble for a letter which he had received from a friend in Ireland called Pike, and had published under the title of *A True Relation of the Scots and English Forces in the North of Ireland.* With Leach and Coles his publishers, and White their printer, he was sent to prison. White, it is interesting to note, was paid eighteen shillings for printing three reams.

Up to January, 1643, not a solitary Royalist periodical had appeared, for of course they stood no chance in London, and the diurnals had been able to hoodwink the people to the top of their bent.

By the end of the year 1642 the King's party at Oxford had become quite aware of the danger the diurnals were to

the royal cause and determined to publish an opposition journal. On the second Saturday in the year and every subsequent Saturday evening for Sunday (it must be supposed in order deliberately to flout the Puritan conception of the first day of the week as a "Sabbath") appeared *Mercurius Aulicus, A Diurnal Communicating the Intelligence and Affaires of the Court to the Rest of the Kingdome.* There appears to have been some hesitation as to a title for this periodical; the first number for 1st-7th January was called *Oxford Diurnal*, but the next number (No. 1), which appeared for Sunday, 8th January, 1643, was given the statelier Latin title of *Mercurius Aulicus*, which was continued until the journal came to an end in September, 1645.

This journal at once struck a higher literary note than the rubbish which had poured out on the side of the Parliament. Its preface says: "The world hath long enough been abused with falsehoods. And there's a weekly cheat put out to nourish the abuse amongst the people and make them pay for their seducement. And that the world may see that the Court is neither so barren of intelligence as it is conceived nor the affairs thereof in so unprosperous a condition as these pamphlets make them, it is thought fit to let them truly understand the state of things so that they may no longer pretend ignorance or be deceived with untruths. Which being premised once for all we now go on with the businesse wherein we shall proceed with all truth and candour."

More than one writer probably had a hand in this journal; the names of Dr. Peter Heylin, George Digby, afterwards Earl of Bristol, and Henry Jermin, afterwards Earl of St. Albans, and others are mentioned, but the bulk of the work fell on the author-in-chief, John, afterwards Sir John, Berkenhead, a graduate of Oriel College.[1]

Aubrey writes of him: "He was exceedingly confident, witty, not very gratefull to his benefactors, would lye dam-

[1] Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. by A. Clark, i., p. 104. Life in Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses* and *The Spie*.

nably. He was of a middling stature, great goggli eies, not of a sweet aspect." This character does not appear to be quite fair, and we would like to know the cause of Aubrey's hostility. Berkenhead is also described by a hostile pen as "being by profession a student in the law and a very apt scholler, hath learned very well, and is become as good a scholler as his Tutors and professors not only in the theorie but also in the practicall part. For the greatest, and main point of the Law which the new Oxford Doctors do teach is, That it is lawful to devise what lies they can, and to publish them even in print for the advancing of their cause. . . . His fine rhetoricall words are like unto the flowers that covereth a serpent lying under them.—The Malignants do pay sometimes as deare for that pamphlet as for a psalm book, one of the last was sold for 18 pence a peece. We know say the Malignants that what Aulicus writeth is true."[1]

The last sentence reveals the fact that *Aulicus* was sold in London as well as in Oxford, and as the price of all the pamphlets of news was but a penny (though the hawker got more if possible) we can gather an idea of the risk then incurred in selling it.

The Lords, in the meantime, were busily engaged in dragooning the press. On 7th January, 1643, Coles and Leach, the printers of Pecke's *Continuation of Certain Special and Remarkable Passages*, and Pecke himself, together with Alsop and Fawcett, two other printers, were sent to the Fleet. On the 12th Pecke was brought to the bar and confessed his "authorship". He remained in prison until after 24th April, when he and his printers petitioned for the second time for their freedom. The cause of this severe punishment seems simply to have been the fact that he had commented too freely on the presentation of petitions for a peace with the King, presented by the apprentices of London and their

[1] *The True Character of Mercurius Aulicus*, 1645. This pamphlet, supposed to be lost, is in the Burney Collection.

masters on 2nd January. His periodicals, however, were not suppressed, and he and his booksellers were allowed to continue their publication.

Another printer, Richard Herne, and his author, one Glapthorne of Fetter Lane, also fell victims, on the 12th, for a pamphlet entitled *His Majesty's Gracious Answer to the Message Sent from the Honourable City of London Concerning Peace.*

In the meantime an important little periodical appeared in reply to *Aulicus*, entitled *The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer.* At the start it was not much better than the rest, and was quite as abusive as any; but the writer was evidently perfectly honest, and as his periodical lasted until 1655 (being afterwards continued as the *Weekly Intelligencer of the Commonwealth*) it is unfortunate that his name should not be known with certainty. His initials are R. C., and he was a soldier who was with the army at Windsor on the side of the Parliament—where he says he served the cause he had espoused with his pen rather than his sword. It is more than probable that he was the Richard Collings whose name appears as the publisher of *A Declaration Concerning the King* (23rd November, 1648, E, 473, 17), which is written by some one (presumably Collings) who was evidently on the Parliamentary side, but who nevertheless was loyal to the King personally; and this, as will afterwards be shown, was precisely the attitude of Richard Collings. The *Weekly Intelligencer of the Commonwealth* also was *printed for R.C.*, which means that he sold it. He may also have been the Richard Collins who took up his freedom in the Stationers' Company on 30th January, 1628. One Royalist opponent calls him a "brother of the whetstone" (*i.e.*, a liar), and another says of him that "he halted in his intelligence," qualifying the depreciatory remark by adding that he was "an honest Trojan". Sheppard, who also alludes to his honesty in the *Weepers*,[1] says he was a scholar, and writes of his poverty with regret.

On 21st February, 1643, the Lords committed his printer

[1] *The Weepers or the Bed of Snakes broken by S.S.*, 13th September, 1652.

for putting on his pamphlet the headline "Cessation of Arms," but the journals, unfortunately, do not give the writer's name. On 11th May he commenced a second newsbook, entitled *Mercurius Civicus*; *or, London's Intelligencer*, and published on Thursdays (the *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer* was published on Tuesdays). *Mercurius Civicus* was an interesting little periodical, which contained a great deal of valuable information about the city, and had two novel features: one being the exceedingly bad rhymes which occasionally adorned its title-page, the other the infinitely worse wood-cut portraits which invariably ornamented it. It was the first regularly illustrated periodical.

On 9th March, 1643, an "ordinance" was passed, which provided that the "Committee for Examinations," or any four of them, were to have power to appoint persons to search, and to commit to prison any one vending or selling pamphlets scandalous to His Majesty or the Houses; those committed not to be released until those employed to search were satisfied for pains and charges. On 28th March the House of Commons resolved "that the *Diurnal* from the 14 March to the 21 printed by Rob. Wood is false and scandalous to the King's Majesty and the Parliament," and "That what person soever shall print or sell any Act or passages of this house under the names of a diurnal or otherwise without the particular license of this house shall be reputed a high contemner and breaker of the privileges of Parliament and so punished accordingly". From this we are justified in concluding that the diurnals had all along been licensed although there had been no order or ordinance for the purpose.

In April the *Humble Remonstrance of the Company of Stationers* (written by Henry Parker) was presented. It recited, that the Star Chamber and the High Commission Court having been removed and sundry good temporary orders made until a new bill could be passed, the orders were not so successful as could be expected, and that as this was

The KING *and* QUEENE *conjoyned,*
The Kantiſh news related,
Our Forces are united,
A publique Faſt appointed.

*Numb.*8

Mercurius Civicus.

LONDONS
INTELLIGENCER.

OR,

Truth impartially related from thence to the whole Kingdome, to prevent miſ-information.

From *Thurſday, July* 13. to *Thurſday, July* 20. 1643.

WHereas it is the generall expectation and deſire of moſt people to be informed of the true ſtate of the Army under the command of his Excellency the Parliaments Lord Generall; It will not therefore be amiſſe in the firſt place to impart ſomething of the late intelligence from thence, which was informed by Letters from *Stony-ſtratford*, to this effect, That on Saturday laſt, being the 15 of

to be imputed to the prosecutors, the Company itself asked for the right to prosecute, adding very pertinently: "Propriety of copies being now almost taken away and confounded; if one Stationer prefer any complaint against another, the complainant shall be sure to have his copy reprinted out of spite, and so the ruin of himself and family is made the reward of his zeal and forwardness". The address also asked for the restriction of the number of presses and apprentices, and stated that the amount of printing done during the past four years was enormous. On this, the preparation of a formal ordinance to establish a body of licensers was taken in hand.

Before this ordinance is described two more periodicals require notice. One is *Certaine Informations*, of which the first number appeared for 16th-23rd January (the first two numbers are only to be found in the Record Office), and which lasted until February of the following year. This was written by William Ingler, probably a scrivener, of whom nothing is known but his name, and that only because he is one of the two solitary writers who entered their names in the Stationers' Register (Pecke is the other writer). The other periodical, which was entitled *Mercurius Rusticus*, appeared on 20th May, and was a chronicle chiefly of the sacking of Wardour and other castles, and of the desecration of churches and cathedrals by the Puritan soldiers. This was written by Bruno Ryves, D.D., chaplain to the King, and rector of St. Martin's in the Vintry (he was to have a successor in this benefice whom we shall have occasion to describe later on). Dr. Ryves survived the Restoration, and then became Dean of Windsor.

On 14th June, 1643, the ordinance establishing a board of licensers was passed. For the Star Chamber was substituted the "Committee for Examinations" of the Parliament, and in a second ordinance, dated 20th June, the names of a number of licensers were promulgated. Although in this list Henry Walley, clerk to the Company of Stationers,

was appointed to license small pamphlets, it was not on this authority that he acted as licenser of the newsbooks, but in virtue of a special appointment by the "Committee for Examinations" (of which there is no record). He was a suitable person for the office, for he came of a publishing family of repute, and in years gone by had himself published Fletcher's "Faithful Shepherdess" and Jonson's "Maske of Queens". With his advent, order was restored among the crowd of diurnals, and we shall not find Parliament interfering with them to any great extent until 1646. The House of Commons again imprisoned Francis Cowles and Thomas Bates for publishing a "relation" of Irish news (8th June) before matters were placed in his hands; and these were the last newsbook victims for some time to come.

CHAPTER IV.

14TH JUNE, 1643, TO 31ST DECEMBER, 1646.

One of the first results of placing the control of the newsbooks in the hands of one man, was the cessation of the appropriation of the titles by rival writers. The *Perfect Diurnal* was now definitely recognised as Pecke's property, and other titles were equally protected. The catchword, therefore, at once assumed its proper position, and each newsbook henceforward stands out distinctly by itself. In no case does the printer or bookseller seem to have been held entitled to the ownership of the title of the periodical he printed or published, and a case will be mentioned in which such a claim was put forward and at once disallowed. The newsbooks, therefore, now become easier to describe.

Before considering them in their chronological order, one new legislative enactment must be noticed. Oxford, where the solitary Royalist periodical *Mercurius Aulicus* was published, had been found too far away from London for those sympathisers with the Cavaliers who wished to have the Court news. Consequently means were found to have *Aulicus* secretly reprinted in London.[1] Owing to the increase in the number of printing presses, a solitary hidden press was now difficult to find and suppress; therefore measures were taken to stop the sale of *Aulicus*. An enormous increase in the number of the "mercuries"—that is the hawkers and ballad singers who sold pamphlets in the streets—had taken place since the Rebellion began; hence an Act of the City Common

[1] Thomason's note on a second *Aulicus* of even date for 14th October, 1643, "New printed at London". Milton's *Areopagitica* quoted below. It would be interesting to know who the printers were.

Council was passed on 9th October, which revived and ordered the putting into force of the city statutes against unlicensed hawkers as rogues and vagabonds. Under these Acts, the provisions of which were incorporated in the subsequent ordinances, women caught selling Royalist pamphlets were taken to the House of Correction at Bridewell and whipped. The full effect of this Act will not be apparent until we consider the periodicals of 1648, as up to the middle of the year 1647 repression was as successful and as complete as could be hoped for, and there was no Royalist competition in London other than that of the secretly sold *Aulicus*.

In the meantime the *Oxford Aulicus* had produced one good effect; it had drawn attention to the necessity of securing opponents of a higher social and intellectual stamp than the mean little band of scriveners. Yet the first periodical to be licensed under the new Act was actually written by a tailor,[1] one John Dillingham, who, as the writer first of the *Parliament Scout* (until it was suppressed) and then of the *Moderate Intelligencer*, occupies a considerable space in the journalism of the Rebellion. George Wither, in his *Great Assizes holden in Parnassus by Apollo*, sarcastically calls him the "learned Scout," but it is not possible to say much more of him than this and to describe the periodicals which he wrote and their vicissitudes. He is the John Dillingham of Whitefriars, who gave information against Archbishop Laud in 1643, and to whose house Dr. Brownrigg was committed in 1644.[2] The authorisation of his newsbooks was the reward for services of this kind.

[1] The *Man in the Moon* (No. 26, 17th-24th October, 1649) calls him "A Prick louse vermin Taylor". *Hinc illæ Lachrymæ* (1648) calls him "that botching 'Moderate Intelligencer,' as nowadays he terms himselfe, being by his own feare and shame whipt out of his former title the 'Parliament Scout'". The *Second Character of Mercurius Politicus* says of Nedham, "He is a very Moderate Intelligencer, now grown such a Dillingham, such a taylour of News". The references to his trade are numerous and continuous. The *Man in the Moon* also alludes to his living in Whitefriars.

[2] Cal. State Papers.

Cleiveland writes of him at a later date as follows: "He is the Countryman's chronicler and he sings 'Io Pæans' to his Muse as to the Rustic deities. He is the citizens' harbinger and saveth him the labour of walking on the 'change to hear the newes. He is the epitome of Wit, and is so contracted in so small circumference that you may draw him through a loophole or shoot him as a pellet out of an eldergun—and though he tells lies by the gross, yet he would have the book-turners of this isle believe that he useth moderation. The *Diurnall* and he are confederates, and resolve to utter nothing but perfumed breath, and to make no narration but what shall be pleasing to the close committee. With them as coadjutors join the two Empirique astronomers" (*i.e.*, astrologers) "Lillie and Booker . . . those two disciples of 'Erra Pater,' that can make prediction of fair weather in harvest, and that the sunne will lose some part of his light when he is eclipsed, and have led the Commons of this kingdome as the beares are led by the nose with bagpipes before them in the morning, and in the afternoon are worried at the stake."

It is probably to Dillingham that the idea of a new journalistic development of some importance is due—that of a diurnal in French for the benefit of foreigners in England, and to be exported by them. French, as will hereafter be noticed, was a feature in Dillingham's periodicals, and, as the *Man in the Moon* in 1649 states that he was "coupled to another of the same breed called Codgrave that can read French and translate foreign news," it appears fairly certain that Codgrave (who may be identified with John Cotgrave, probably a son of Randle Cotgrave, author of the French Dictionary) was the writer of *Le Mercure Anglois.* This was a little four-page periodical in French, which appeared every Thursday, on the same day as Dillingham's *Scout* and *Moderate Intelligencer,* and was at first printed by the printer of these two journals, White.

Trial numbers of this periodical appeared on 7th June and 13th June, 1644, and on 10th July, before the publication of

the third number on 11th July, the following bill was issued: "These are to signifie, that all merchants and others that are desirous weekely to impart beyond seas the certain condition of affairs here and of the proceedings of the war, they shall have it weekely published in print and in the French tongue. And every Thursday at nine of the clocke in the morning the Reader may have them (if he please) at Master Bourne's shop at the Old Exchange—the title of the thing is *Le Mercure Anglois*, which a while since was begun and continued for two or three weekes, and finding it much desired during these three weeks past, that the publishing of it (through some occasions) was discontinued, it shall for the future be continued according to the most certaine and impartiall relations of affaires here to come out at the time and place aforesaid."

This is the earliest known newsagent's bill, and must have been posted upon the walls and street posts in London.[1] *Le Mercure Anglois* lasted until the end of the year 1648, and its history was quite uneventful.

The licensers, at any rate those who followed Rushworth, could not read French. That Cotgrave was allowed to copy and condense the matter appearing in Dillingham's periodicals seems probable, and an inspection of the two sets bears out this theory. In return he supplied Dillingham with the translations of the foreign news, which throughout was the special feature of his periodicals.

John Cotgrave published two books in 1655, *The English Treasury of Wit and Language;* and *Wits Interpreter, the English Parnassus, or a Sure Guide to those Admirable Accomplishments that Compleat our English Gentry*, both collections from the writings of other authors, and compilations of more than ordinary importance.

[1] The expression the "name of the thing" has reference to the fact that *Le Mercure Anglois* was not a pamphlet or newsbook. It was half a sheet of four pages, and therefore a "newspaper". The writer of the bill did not know what to call it. A copy of the bill is in the Thomason Collection.

Henry Walley, the licenser, appears to have written the periodicals called the *True Informer*, *Heads of Chiefe Passages* (in 1648), and the *Kingdoms Weekly Account of Heads of Chiefe Passages*—"Collected B. HVVC." (*i.e.*, By Henry Walley Clerk). In November, 1647, and January, 1648, Pecke's *Perfect Diurnall* was marked—"Collected by S. P. G." (*i.e.*, Samuel Pecke, Gentleman); the *Kingdoms Weekly Post*—"Collected by D. B. G. (*i.e.* Daniel Border, Gentleman); the *Perfect Weekly Account*—"Collected by B. D."; and the *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*—"Collected by R. C."

Each licenser in succession wrote a periodical, and, though there is no direct statement to be found that Walley wrote the *True Informer*, it is to be inferred, as all the others can be accounted for, that he was responsible for this one. The *True Informer* appeared on Saturdays, until 22nd February, 1645, and he must have chosen the worst day of the week in order not to interfere with the profits of others. The licensers had no fixed salary, but of course it is not to be supposed that they did their work for nothing. Henry Walker tells us of the fees he paid to the licenser Mabbott, and that the latter made £100 a year from them (*infra* p. 117). As Roger l'Estrange, in the year 1662, asked for a fee of one shilling per sheet on everything he licensed,[1] this probably was the customary fee paid to the licenser on each periodical.

The *Weekly Account* was written by D. Border, another scrivener. Nothing is known of him except that at his marriage in 1640 he was described as Daniel Border, gent., of St. Giles in the Fields, widower, aged 28 (Chester's "London Marriage Licenses"), and that on a later periodical, the *Kingdomes Faithfull Scout*, he describes himself as D. Border, "cleric" (*i.e.*, clerk or scrivener). After the first suppression of the licensed press, he appears to have practised as a physician and to have published a book entitled "*πολυφάρμακος καὶ λυμίστης*; *or, The English Unparallel'd Physitian*" (1651). The reason for his knowledge of Greek will appear afterwards.

[1] S. P. Dom., Charles II., 39, No. 94.

Sheppard in the "Weepers" calls his newsbook an "Augean stable," and he certainly was the most inaccurate and ill-informed of all the journalists of his day.

Part of the licenser's duties was to allot the days of the week to each journalist; and it is evident that Border, who apparently was an Anabaptist and an opponent of the strict Presbyterians, did not find favour with a later licenser, for on 29th March, 1647, a new periodical, entitled the *Perfect Weekly Account*, appeared on the same days (Wednesdays) as Border's *Weekly Account*—a mean trick intended to drive him from the field. The *Perfect Weekly Account*, moreover, was actually printed by the same printer, Bernard Alsop. Border tried to combat his rival by also adopting the adjective "Perfect" from 5th May (*sic* 3), 1647, to 28th June, 1647, but during this time was not licensed.

The *Perfect Weekly Account* was written by a writer who reversed Border's initials, "B. D.," of whom nothing is known. Border endeavoured to countermine his adversary by reversing his initials also to "B. D." (on No. 1 of the *Kingdomes Weekly Post*); but he was evidently ordered to desist, for in the succeeding numbers he initialled his periodicals "D. B. G." [1]

The changes in titles of periodicals are continuous, and require attention, and the names of the writers often can be traced through the printers. No wonder that Sheppard later on wrote: "These fellows come flurting in, and style themselves by new names, they flie up and down a week or two and then in a moment vanish. Seriously I could wish it were enacted that whosoever did betake himself to this lying trade should be bound at least seven years to it, and not start as these brazen faced fellows perpetually do. There was a merry gentleman who called himself the *Dutch Spy*" (this is a periodical of 1652). "Twice or thrice I saw

[1] The *Man in the Moon* (No. 26, 17th-24th October, 1649) says the *Perfect Weekly Account* was then written by B. D., without mentioning his name.

him. O that was a trim lad! I believe that fellow by long study had gained the very Elixir of Nonsense. If his bulk and behaviour had been but as gross and fat as his pamphlet he might have passed for a Dutch spy I dare say over all the Netherlands." [1]

In September, 1643, the first formal and open opponent of *Mercurius Aulicus* appeared in *Mercurius Britanicus*. A mistake having been made in the spelling of the Latin at the start, it is characteristic of Puritan obstinacy that the mistake was persisted in throughout the whole of the periodical's career; and the dropped "n" serves to distinguish this newsbook from the other periodicals entitled *Mercurius Britannicus* which appeared at later dates. The author was Captain Thomas Audley, who lived in Bloomsbury, "near the great cherry garden," and had been previously a "noted disperser of Scotch pamphlets". He was a scurrilous writer, with a genius for mean suggestion. Nevertheless he was considered witty, and an astonished Royalist opponent cries: "What! Wit in a Puritan? As monstrous as the title of the play 'Wit in a Constable'!" Audley, however, was not alone in his editorship, for the *Spie* writes: "There are four or five, or at least a Cinque or Quaternion of conspirators in wit which aim at the destruction of *Aulicus*, and so have set on wheels this grand engine called *Britanicus* . . . this Geffery, James Giles and Jack . . . this motley curre of Wood Street".

Dr. Daniel Featly, in his *Sacra Nemesis* (1st August, 1644), says to Audley: "Thou hast a patent to lye, and whatsoever thou printest in thy weekly corrantos though never so grossly absurd and palpably false, after thou hast got M. White's (the printer's) hand to it no man can say 'Black is thine eye'". As an example of the shameful falsehoods with which he bespattered the Court and, to his lasting dishonour, even the Queen herself, a letter, which he avers was captured from the Royalists, may be quoted—the blanks are his own and are left, he states, for oaths.

[1] *Mercurius Mastix*, No. 1, 20th-27th August, 1652.

"Jack . . . We have not left . . . one Woman—Lady — Gentlewoman — Wayting maid . . . or other honest . . . We have some Irish . . . and Frenchwomen come to us . . . We intend not to leave till we have . . . sinned with all nations as well as our owne. Thine Carnarvon." Robert Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon, thus meanly traduced, was an honourable and gallant soldier who was actually killed on the day following the publication of this vile libel (at the first battle of Newbury, 20th September, 1643).[1]

A contemporary attack on Audley runs: "This is that short swarthy chest-nut coloured captaine whose commission hath not run like other mens, his employments (wary gentleman) have been less dangerous. Whilst others left a leg, an arm, a life abroad he kept the City, and preserved his limbs at home. He well knew how much safer it was to storm towns in a thin quarto than to be engaged in onsets and sieges. Unless it were the Captain who heretofore wrote weekly intelligence from Pope's Head Alley, who usually took townes in Cyder, and after his second draught in metheglin still struck in with the Swedes, and in less than two houres operation ordinarily over ran all the chief parts of Germany, I never knew any professed swordsman but this make gazets his trade of living. For methinks for Captain Audley being a soldier to call himself Mercury, is as if Serjeant Wild being a lawyer should call himself Mars, and for the one to vex the press with his weekly pasquil currantoes, is as if the other should plead at the Bar in a long white feather and buff." [2]

The *Scotish Dove* was commenced in October, 1643. After a few numbers, an illustration of a dove with its olive branch

[1] *Mercurius Britanicus* was published with a license from the general of the army (Essex). *Historical MSS. Commission, 6th Report*, p. 74. Most of the newsbooks seem to have held similar licenses, or licenses from the Lords or Commons.

[2] *Mercurius Anti-Britanicus; or, The Second Part of the King's Cabinet Vindicated.*

Be Wise as Serpents, Innocent as Doves.

THE SCOTISH DOVE,

Sent out, and Returning;

Bringing Intelligence from the Armies, and makes some Relations of other observable Passages of both Kingdoms, for Information and Instruction.

As an Antidote against the poisoned insinuations of Mercurius Aulicus, *and the errours of other intelligencers.*

From Friday the 22. of Decemb. to the 29. of the same.

FOR as much as my Dove is sent out for instruction, and information of mens judgements, as well as to bring intelligence of News; She at this time upon occasion, falling out this present season, is to relate something to rectifie the judgements of the Ignorant, concerning the controversie, and different opinions of the observing the Feast of Christmas: a discourse seasonable, and suitable to the time.

and the legend "holy inocency is blessed" invariably appeared as its frontispiece. Its "author's" name was George Smith, and he writes of himself: "At the beginning of the war, being driven from my Rurals and countrey for my cordiall affections to the service of the Parliament . . . I was forced to take Sanctuary in this great city, not being at that time in a capacity to serve the publick in arms as I intended . . . but impatient to live unprofitable I endeavoured to make up by my pen what was deficient in my sword, and to that end I first writ a treatise entitul'd 'the Protestant Informer,' then . . . 'Great Britain's Misery with the cause and cure' and 'The Three Kingdomes Healing plaister or explanation of the solemn covenant'. But . . . our brethren of Scotland being in preparation of an army to come to our assistance, I sent out my *Dove* for an intelligencer between England and Scotland as once Decemus Brutus did from Madenna when besieged by Antonius, to carry intelligence to the Consuls camp".

After this we are quite prepared to find Wither writing of the "innocent *Scotch Dove*":—

> In many words he little matter drest
> And did laconick brevity detest
> But while his readers did expect some newes
> They found a sermon . . .

The *Scotish Dove* was a spiteful little periodical, and its spitefulness, coupled with the writer's oily hypocrisy, eventually led to its suppression. Smith insulted the French so repeatedly, calling them God's enemies, that, in consequence of the French Ambassador's complaint to Parliament, he was ordered to be attached by the House of Lords on 22nd September, 1646. He did not improve matters in the *Scotish Dove* of 23rd September, by adopting a process of equivocation indistinguishable from lying, and on 24th September his "book" was ordered to be burnt by the hangman and he himself to apologise to Monsieur Baleure, the French Am-

bassador. George Smith did not appear again as a journalist,[1] but he was probably the writer of *New Christian Uses*, the *Compleate Intelligencer and Resolver* and the *Compleate Intelligencer and Resolver in Two Parts*.

George Wither, the Puritan poet, commenced a *Mercurius Rusticus* on 26th October (Thomason's note), rather meanly taking Dr. Ryves' title. With rueful humour he makes the preliminary apology for possibly untruthful intelligence: "all Mercuries having the planet Mercurie predominant at their Nativities cannot but retaine a twang of lying".

In the *Spie*, the first number of which appeared on 30th January, 1644, and was written, as Thomason's note on it states, by Durant Hotham, fifth son of Sir John Hotham, the Parliamentary Governor of Hull, we have a really witty periodical, far superior to *Britanicus*, and a worthier opponent of *Aulicus*.

Durant Hotham was the translator of the writings of Jacob Boehme, the German mystic. His brother John was beheaded by order of the Parliament on 1st January, 1645, and his father on 2nd January, for negotiations partly on their own account and partly tending to bring about an accommodation between the King and Parliament. The *Spie* came to an end on 25th June, 1644, probably on account of these negotiations and family troubles. Durant Hotham started it with the avowed object of attacking *Aulicus*, and his appearance on the scene was very much resented by Audley and was the cause of the first controversy between two rival editors.

On 19th February Audley wrote in a rage: "I know not where to begin. Whether at Oxford or London. For I ever expected a checke from Oxford but I never thought of a checke so near me—but this is ordinary in a game of

[1] Lords Journals: *The Scotish Dove sent out the last time* (December, 1646). The *Scotish Dove*, No. 132, 16th-23rd September, 1646, E. 355 (5), and the passage complained of in No. 150, 2nd-9th September, E. 353 (19), p. 31.

chesse . . . so long as the City hath a drop of inke I shall lay it out for their honour and the publicke service, and the destruction of Popery and Prelacy and Evill Councellors. . . . I must kicke away a little beagle that snarls and barks at the legs of *Britanicus*, for he hath not so good fangs as to bite, but to give him his due he is a *Spie*, and so calls himselfe, and he rides so weekly between Oxford and London that he will come at length to the same preferment as his brother spies and namesakes have done before him, either to be exalted at the Old Exchange, or to be gibbetted over against St. Maries at Oxford. This *Spie* is naturally a malignant by constitution," etc.

To which the *Spie* replied :—

"*Britanicus* was wrapped up the last weeke in abundance of sheets and unawares stiffed in the sale so that he was almost quite condemned to Grocery and Tobacco shops, which made the printers neither pay him nor feast him so cordially as they were wont. This puts him in a rage against our *Spie* and to vent his spleen in angry language with immeasurable bug-bear threatening impudence, which if any man will say is wit to my thinking he utters a greater jest than this squib cracker was guilty of. . . . Oh the dull Ephesian is like to lose his Diana, hee is not like to have so much gain as formerly and fears our *Spie* will have so much wit as to carry away the money. This is it makes him baule so loud in the street against the *Spie* and cry himself up in the market place : 'I am *Britanicus*'—'Here is *Britanicus*'. . . . Sirrah leave thy snarling, or every page hereafter shall be a Britanicomastix, and every line of conceits shall be a whip and a bell to lash and gingle thee out of thy (wits, I would have said but mean) impudence. Farewell."

Britanicus returned to the charge with :—

"*Aulicus* is this week but in one single Tiffany or Cobweblaune sheet. The truth is he and a young man in the towne have parted stakes and divide the taske, and the supreame affaire of communicating iniquitie to the kingdome. And

Aulicus writes in one sheet and 'Quoth I' another. Now this designe would be lookt into for it is a communicating designe, an intelligencing designe, an Oxford designe, a designe begun at a chandlers shop neere Newgate (an ill Omen) by the help of Raisins and jug-beere and completed next door to the Devill of St. Dunstanes, a victualling house where the *Spie* resorts sometimes, and pampers his muse with two cucumbers and halfe a loine of mutton, and that makes the conceits a little greasier than usually wit should be at this time of the yeare."

As a result of this tirade the licenser forced the *Spie* to come out in the following week a day later than usual, and then stifled the controversy; no doubt pointing out to both that their business was to attack *Aulicus* and not one another.

Intelligence from the Earl of Manchester's Army was written chiefly by Simeon Ashe, Lord Manchester's chaplain. Some account of this worthy will be found in Dr. John Barwick's *Querela Cantabrigiensis* (frequently bound up with Bruno Ryves' *Mercurius Rusticus*). He does not seem to have acted an amiable part towards the University of Cambridge.

About this time the affairs of the army began to assume increasing importance, and the clerk to the Company of Stationers was scarcely the person to know exactly what the military authorities of the Parliament would wish not to appear in the diurnals. Consequently Walley was superseded on 11th April, 1644, and John Rushworth, who was born in 1612, had been educated at Oxford, and was in every way qualified for his post, was appointed. The bulky volumes of his *Historical Collections*, which consist almost entirely of clippings from the newsbooks and diurnals written by himself and other authors, are a valuable source of history. Rushworth had been appointed clerk assistant to the House of Commons in 1640, had been sent many times as its messenger to York and elsewhere, and was completely in its confidence. Unfortunately he soon obtained permission from the Committee of Examinations to perform his duties of perusing the printers'

copy of each pamphlet of news by deputy. At the commencement of September Captain Thomas Audley was this deputy; but later on he employed his clerk Gilbert Mabbott.

John Rushworth was the writer of the *London Post*,[1] which appeared from 6th August, 1644, to 4th March, 1645, and again from 31st December, 1646, to February, 1647.

On 9th September, 1644, *Mercurius Britanicus* temporarily ceased publication with its fiftieth number, and it is from this date and for this reason that Captain Audley's employment as Rushworth's deputy must be dated. The extinction of the periodical, however, was not to be allowed; and a new author was found for it in the person of Marchamont Nedham, who recommenced it with No. 51 on the 30th of the same month (the Lords Journals say No. 52, but this is probably a mistake).

Marchamont Nedham, "that impudent and incorrigible reviler" as Cleiveland calls him, "who while the world lasts shall never be mentioned by any, but to his shame and infamy," was a graduate of All Souls' College, Oxford, and had been an usher at Merchant Taylors' school. At some time he was apparently connected with the legal profession, for the pamphlet which describes Audley also describes Nedham as "a gentleman of Grayes Inne," adding, "perhaps he may be of that house". (He did not become a member until 1652.) "But sure his writings show him not to be a gentleman. If he were, he would never side so much with the rout and scum of the people as to make them weekly sport by railing at all that's noble. He was heretofore an under clerke of that House. One who in times of peace, wrote a good legible Court hand, earned his ten groats a week to himself (besides what he got to his master) by eight faire lines to the sheet, and the trick of the large dash. Out of which moderate gains he was able to club his tester with his country friend. And then with his pen in his ear, return in decent equipage back to his little room furnished with no other

[1] The *Man in the Moon*, No. 26, 17th-24th October, 1649.

household stuff, but only his industrious self, desk, writing tools, a bottle of checquer ink, and sometimes for hanging a voluminous chancery bill, which he made still more voluminous by the aforesaid swoop of his pen, to the great astonishment of his masters clients, who seeing sheets multiply so fast between the hands of the transcriber thought verily he wrought miracles, a single skin of parchment transformed to a ream of paper, which made him" (*i.e.*, the client) "many times forgive his adversary the debt he owed him as the way to save charges."

At the time when he was thus described, Nedham must have fallen in the social scale. He is the subject of a number of pamphlets, and neither side has a good word to say for him. His one motive and leading principle in life was to earn money, and for the sake of this he was ready to write for or against any one. He was the "great Goliah of the Philistines," says Roger l'Estrange, "whose pen was like a weaver's beam" in comparison with others, and the remark is repeated by Anthony à Wood, the writer of his life. He was a "man of low stature, full set, and black haired" states one writer; another adds that he was bald "because hair is no emblem of wit"; and a third states that he had "trapstick" legs and a huge stomach; and he lived at the house of one Kidder in Devereux Court, Temple (there are several references to this fact). His own description of his style, addressed to the writer of *Mercurius Academicus*, the successor in 1646 of *Aulicus*, is: "My ink immediately destroys all paper worms, and if need be I'll add aqua fortis and Bay salt to my gals and Coperas. And now let them proceed what they please," adding in a note at the side, "Nemo me impune lacessit". A writer of this kind would not fail to "sell best" of all the diurnals.

Mercurius Aulicus abandoned its former dignity and now entered upon a long scolding wrangle with *Mercurius Britanicus*, which only terminated with the extinction of the former periodical at the end of the year 1645, and which is very

tiresome to read or to attempt to follow. According to modern standards the wit in both periodicals is very sadly to seek.

At the end of November, 1644, John Milton made his well-known attack on the licensing system. During the previous year he had written a treatise on Divorce, which had involved him in some controversy. It is a question whether this pamphlet was in print so late after the ordinances of June, 1643, as to require licensing, but, be this as it may, Milton's subsequent pamphlets were duly perused and licensed. These were the tract *Of Education* (5th June, 1644) and the *Judgment of Martin Bucer Concerning Divorce* (6th August, 1644). Milton evidently found some difficulty in getting permission to write everything he wished in this latter treatise,[1] and must have had to carry his copy backwards and forwards from the licenser to the printer in the manner described in the *Areopagitica. A Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing to the Parliament of England*, published, naturally without a license, on 24th November.

As this work appeared nearly eighteen months after the licensing system had been in complete and regular operation, it was clearly provoked by Milton's own personal inconveniences with the licenser and nothing else; for it contains no advocacy of any real liberty of the press and no plea for toleration. Milton contemplated no printing of Royalist publications; "Do we not see," he writes (referring to *Aulicus*, and his being reprinted in London), "not once nor oftner but weekly that continued court libel against the parliament and city, printed as the wet sheets can witness and disperst among us for all that licensing can do?" He advocated

[1] Bucer, Luther, Melancthon and the rest went so far as to sanction and countenance the public introduction of polygamy. Milton may, therefore, very easily have got into trouble with any licenser over quotations from Bucer. See Johannes Janssen's *History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages* (translated by A. M. Christie, 1903), vol. vi., chap. xii., where Bucer's views and the whole story of Philip of Hesse's bigamous marriage are set out in elaborate detail.

punishment after publication, and thought that the orders and ordinances existing previously to that of June, 1643, were sufficient to ensure the capture of the writers. For mischievous books he considered "the fire and the executioner will be the timeliest and the most effectual remedy".

Milton's prose works are insufferably tedious to read, and it is small wonder that the *Areopagitica* should be the only one known and read nowadays. Assuredly in advance of its times, it can be said with equal certainty that it was in advance of Milton himself. He was contending for a spurious toleration, because he saw very plainly that religious views were altering so much from day to day that scope must be allowed for the moving on of dogma and discipline from Presbyterianism to Independency and perhaps even farther still; but he did not seem to think the toleration of Catholicism and Episcopalianism—those old standards that had been left behind—possible, and here he was behind the standard raised in his own book.

On 19th January, 1649, the Levellers petitioned for the liberty of unlicensed printing,[1] and the statements they make clear up in a very remarkable manner the real underlying motive of the *Areopagitica*. They say: "A short time after the beginning of this Parliament, at the solicitation of the Company of Stationers, the press was committed to the custody of licencers, when though scandalous books from or in behalf of the Enemy then at Oxford was the pretended occasion, yet the first that suffered was Mr. Laurence Sanders for printing without license a book intitled *Gods Love to Mankind*, and not long after Mr. John Lilburn, Mr. William Larner, and Mr. Richard Overton and others about books discovering the then approaching tyrannie" (*i.e.*, of the Presbyterians). "And if you and your army shall be pleased to look back a little upon

[1] The "Petition of firm and constant friends to the Parliament and Commonwealth Presenters and promoters of the late large petition of Sept. 11, 1648" (19th January, 1648-49, 669, f. 13, (75)). The petition of 11th September was of Lilburne's draftsmanship.

affairs you will find you have bin very much strengthened all along by unlicensed printing.

"And generally, as to the whole course of printing, as justly in our apprehensions may licensers be put over all publicke or private teaching and discourses in Divine, Moral, Natural, Civil, or Political things, as over the press, the liberty whereof appears so essential unto Freedom, as that without it, it's impossible to preserve any nation from being liable to the worst of bondage. For what may not be done to that people who may not speak or write, but at the pleasure of Licensers?" The punishment of whipping inflicted on the "Mercuries" was, they said, "fit only for slaves or bondmen".

The second part of the conclusion of this petition ran: "That you will precisely hold yourself to the supream end —the freedom of the people—as in other things so as in that necessary and essential part of speaking, writing, printing and publishing their minds freely without setting of masters, tutors and Controulers over them and for that end to revoke all orders and ordinances to the contrary".

This petition was occasioned by Fairfax's warrant against the press of 9th January, 1649. Like the *Areopagitica* it was utterly disregarded, but unlike the *Areopagitica* it was immediately followed by the most disgracefully repressive statutes ever known. One of the main objects of the self-created and self-styled "Commonwealth," during the first year of its existence (1649), was to suppress the Levellers—the very men that presented this petition.

In January, 1645, John Cleiveland also descended into the arena, with an attack on the journalism of the day entitled *The Character of a London Diurnal*. "A Diurnal is a puny chronicle," he writes, "scarce pin feathered with the wings of Time. It is an History in sippets, the English Iliads in a nutshell, the Apocryphal Parliaments book of Maccabees in single sheets. It would tire a Welch pedigree to reckon how many 'ap's' tis removed from an annual.

For it is of that extract, only of the younger house—like a shrimp to a lobster. The original sinner in this kind was Dutch" (*i.e.*, German) "*Galliobelgicus* the Protoplast and the moderne mercuries but Hans-en-Kelders" (unborn children). "In the frontispiece of the old beldam Diurnall—like the contents of the chapter—sits the House of Commons, judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (this is a reference to the woodcut of the House on the older *Perfect Diurnall*). "It begins usually with an ordinance, which is a law, still born, dropt before quickened by the Royall assent.

"The next ingredient of a diurnal is plots—horrible plots . . . since the stages were voted down the only playhouse is at Westminster.

"Suitable to their plots are their informers. Skippers and Taylours, Spaniels both for the land and the water. Good conscionable intelligence. . . . Thus a zealous botcher in Moorfields while he was contriving some querpo cut of church government by the help of his outlying ears, and the otacousticon of the Spirit discovered such a plot that Selden intends to combat antiquity and maintain it was a taylours goose that preserved the Capitol.

"In the third place march their adventures, the Roundheads legend, the Rebels romance. Stories of a larger size than the ears of their sect, able to strangle the belief of a Solifidian[1] . . . they kill a man over and over as Hopkins and Sternhold murder the Psalmes with another of the same. One chimes 'all in' and then the other strikes up as the Saints-bell. . . . But the Diurnal is weary of the arm of flesh and now begins an Hosanna to Cromwell—one that hath beat up his drums clean through the Old Testament. You may learn the Genealogy of Our Saviour by the names in his Regiment. The muster-master uses no other list but the first chapter of Matthew. With what face can they object to the King bringing in of foreigners, when themselves

[1] One who maintains that faith alone without works is all that is necessary to salvation.

entertain such an army of Hebrews? This Cromwell is never so valourous as when he is making speeches for the association, which nevertheless he doth somewhat ominously, with his neck awry, holding up his ear as if he expected Mahomets pigeon to come and prompt him. He should be a bird of prey too by his bloody beak. His nose is able to try a young Eagle whether she be lawfully begotten.—But all is not gold that glisters. What we wonder at in the rest of them is natural to him, to kill without bloodshed, for the most of his trophies are in a church window, when a looking glass would show him more superstition. He is so perfect a hater of images that he hath defaced God in his own countenance."

Cleiveland was ever a bitter enemy of Cromwell, and we shall encounter him, like Milton, later on as a journalist.

On 30th January, 1645, Dillingham gave umbrage to the Lords in his *Parliament Scout*: "This day" (23rd January), he wrote, "the House of Commons debated the business of Church government whether it was 'jure divino' (*i.e.*, the Presbyterian method of Classes and so on) which was answered in the 'negative,' whether subject to the 'civil power' which was answered in the 'affirmative,' and commented on this: 'Indeed it were sad if discipline should once be strecht' to 'jure divino,' its true we had dayes in which sometimes this then that was 'jure divino' but now we are growne wiser and set upon a form of Church government that is *alterable*".

From this it will be seen that Dillingham was anything but a staunch Presbyterian. It is amazing in these days to have to add, that for so trivial a matter he was immediately arrested by order of the Lords and the *Parliament Scout* was suppressed. On 22nd February he petitioned the Lords for his discharge; and apparently obtained it, for on 6th March, 1645, he commenced a fresh periodical in the place of the *Scout*, which he entitled the *Moderate Intelligencer*.

Captain Audley's career as licenser now came to an end.

In *Mercurius Britanicus*, No. 92, for 28th July to 4th August, Marchamont Nedham wrote as follows:—

"Where's King Charles? What's become of him? it were best to send Hue and cry after him.

"If any man can bring any tale or tiding of a wilful King, which hath gone astray these four yeares from his Parliament, with a guilty conscience, bloody hands, a heart full of broken vowes and protestations. If these marks be not sufficient there is another in the mouth" (*Bos in lingua*—note at the side), "for bid him speak and you will soon know him. Then give notice to *Britanicus* and you shall be well paid for your paines. So God save the Parliament."

Bos in lingua was a reference to a slight impediment in his speech from which King Charles suffered. Never had such an insult been offered to a King of England before; and had the Parliament ignored it they would have had an outraged people to reckon with. The day after this appeared, White, the printer of *Britanicus*, was brought to the bar of the House of Lords, where he stated that he "had directions from Captain Audley who he conceived had authority from Mr. Rushworth". He was sent to the Fleet, and Captain Audley was ordered to be attached and was afterwards sent to the Gatehouse Prison. Marchamont Nedham, however, escaped scot-free, the licenser being held guilty. On 15th August, ten days later, Audley was liberated and forbidden to license "books" again.

From this date Gilbert Mabbott acted as licenser. He was the son of a Nottingham cobbler who, from working with his awl and last in his father's shop, had come up to London, and had found employment as John Rushworth's clerk, when he learnt how to write a diurnal from acting as Rushworth's "sub-author" on the *London Post*.[1] He possessed no other

[1] The *Man in the Moon*, No. 26, 17th-24th October, 1649; *ibid.*, 21st-30th May, 1649; *Mercurius Elencticus*, No. 44, 10th-17th September, 1648. On 14th July, 1646, the House of Commons voted him £20 for "engrossing the propositions" (*i.e.*, to the Scots Commissioners' "and for divers other services to the house".

qualifications for the office, and the appointment was a distinct triumph for the Independent faction to which he belonged. He was Fairfax's agent for the army, and this was his qualification. Later on he became conspicuous as a Leveller, who headed all the personal attacks on the King—whose death he desired.

Mercurius Academicus succeeded *Mercurius Aulicus* on 21st December, 1645; and apparently it also was printed at Oxford (*Aulicus* having come to an end on the preceding 7th September). This, from statements in *Diutinus*, seems to have been written by a clergyman named Little, possibly Richard Little, son of the Mayor of Abingdon, a graduate of Pembroke College.

On 9th March, 1646, Rushworth's appointment as licenser was revoked, and he was formally replaced by Mabbott—hitherto only his deputy. On 5th May, 1646, King Charles delivered himself up to the Scots, and, had only the Presbyterians and the Independents then agreed, a good deal of later history would have to be written very differently. They did not agree, however, and the struggle between the two parties cost the King his life and the people of England their liberties.

Nedham in *Mercurius Britanicus* now proceeded to revile the King more than before, the climax being reached in the number for 11th-18th May, 1646, when he wrote: "Will the Scots send the King to his Parliament or not? Ye shall know more when 'tis determined in the Upper House what to do, how he shall be demanded and how received," adding: "Be resolved O ye Commons of the kingdom, you have paid dear for your liberties, and whosoever he was that endeavoured to rob you of them is ipso facto a tyrant . . . the Scots have smarted so much heretofore by the power of that brood of Vipers" (the kings) "that they have little reason to make their camp their court." Besides attacking the King, the whole number attempted more or less to make mischief between the two Houses. An end, therefore, was put to *Britanicus*.

On the 21st of May, 1646, the House of Lords ordered the attachment of Nedham and Captain Audley, and two days later Nedham was brought to the bar. He then confessed to the making of this number and of all from No. 52, a period of eighty weeks, and stated that *Britanicus* was perused and licensed by Audley as Rushworth's deputy—which was untrue. He was then committed to the Fleet, and White, his printer, together with Audley, was ordered to appear.

Nedham wrote from prison to Lord Denbigh on the 28th of May, begging him to have his petition for a release presented and read to the Lords that day, and protesting his loyalty to the House in spite of the errors of his pen. Lord Denbigh seems to have interceded successfully, for on June 4th Nedham was liberated on bail, himself in £200, his securities being John Partridge, the stationer, and William Lipthorpe, in £100 each, on condition that he should not write any more pamphlets without leave.

Mercurius Britanicus thus came permanently to an end. On the 13th of June Audley, who was not even in London, appeared, denied that he had licensed *Britanicus*, and was released.

Whether he admitted it or not, it can thus be fairly concluded that Gilbert Mabbott was the instigator of these attacks on the King. He must have had powerful friends, for he does not appear either to have been punished or called in question.

On the 15th of October Samuel Pecke, with Blaicklocke, one of his printers, was called before the House of Commons and examined as to the printing of the papers of the Scots Commissioners, and on the 3rd of November Henry Walker, a printer, with one Westrop and Mabbott, the licenser himself, was called before the Lords for publishing some of the Scots Commissioners' original letters; the Commissioners having complained of their publication.

The author of *Civicus* and the *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer* now also turned round, and, staunch Presbyterian as he was, revealed himself as the champion of his King. In

Civicus, No. 180, 29th October to 5th November, 1646, he writes: "I have now given you the heads of the papers lately delivered by the commissioners of the Kingdom of Scotland, what is omitted (for all the paper is full of brain) is conceived to be too strong in sinews for public apprehension and Independent digestion. I have travailed with my pen to satisfy the kingdom and let no man throw more dirt upon me, which will be inhumanly done, for I have found the way (by so many years travailes) to be deep and troublesome enough, neither do I hope my old Host will be angry (although I hear he intends to stop my passage) if hereafter I shall lodge at the Heart, or the sign of the King's Head. But signes are signes and Hearts are Hearts."

From this it will be seen that this brave old fellow, who apparently was an old lodger of Mabbott's, thinking his King was likely to be wronged in the negotiations then on foot, had boldly determined, regardless of the consequences, and in despite of licenser, Parliament, and all, to speak his mind. He had to suffer for his loyalty, for *Mercurius Civicus* was suppressed, in spite of his apology in the *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer* on 10th November and in *Civicus* on 12th November. He stuck to his guns, however, and qualified his apology by stating that the laws of the kingdom obliged him to allegiance, and adding that he prayed for the King, "and I believe few more oftener, with a more humble knee or a more constant heart". And this was a soldier who fought against the King when it was a question of religion! *Mercurius Civicus* appeared for the last time on 10th December, and its writer was deprived of half his income. The reason of the regret which so avowed and doughty a Royalist as Samuel Sheppard expressed later on for his poverty is apparent.

On 16th December, 1646, Captain Audley again appeared as a journalist, with *Mercurius Diutinus*[1]—carefully adding to

[1] *Mercurius Diutinus*, No. 9, 20th-27th January, 1646: "I have always told you (both in *Britanicus* and in my *Diutinus*) that the Parliament is the most noble and Royal seat for the King". Nedham was forbidden to publish anything at the time.

the title "(not *Britanicus*)". This periodical lasted until the following 10th February and does not call for any special remark. On 31st December, 1646, John Rushworth also revived his *London Post* for two months.

Number 4.

THE LONDON POST

Communicating the High Counſels of both Parliaments in *England* and *Scotland*, and all other Remarkable paſſages, both Civill and Martiall in his Weekly Travells through the three Kingdoms.

Printed and entred according to order.

From Thurſday January the 28 *to Thurſday February* 4.

THE great buſineſſe is now concluded, and what Forraigne Kingdomes have ſo long attended, and almoſt ſtood on tiptoe to behold; this weeke hath brought to poſſe, which is, the King reſtored in-

CHAPTER V.

1647.

THE year 1647 ushered in one who was henceforth to share Samuel Pecke's position of principal journalist to the Parliament.

Henry Walker was born at Derby and had commenced life as apprentice to a London ironmonger called Holland, in Newgate Market; he then set up in business for himself, failed, and on 28th October, 1639, went for a brief period to Queens' College, Cambridge.[1] Thence, without taking any degree, he proceeded to Bishop Williams of Lincoln, afterwards Archbishop of York, armed with a certificate of fitness from the college and another from Archbishop Laud's chaplain, and was ordained deacon. Subsequently he fell under ecclesiastical censure and apparently was suspended.

After his short ecclesiastical experience Walker set up in business as a bookseller and writer of puritanical and seditious pamphlets, circulating, it was said by John Taylor, as many as four or five hundred thousand copies. On 12th March, 1641, the House of Lords committed him to the Fleet for writing two libels, entitled *The Prelates Pride* and *Verses on the Wren and the Finch.* Five days later he was released on his own petition, as being "a poor man and very sorry". On 20th December, 1641, the House of Commons also sent for him, as a delinquent, for the making of a book entitled *A Terrible Outcry against the Loytering Exalted Prelats.*

[1] Information kindly furnished by W. M. Coates, Esq., Bursar of Queens' College. Walker's university career must have been of the briefest possible description.

He employed a "ragged regiment of tatterdemalions, Mercuries, and hawkers" to vend his pamphlets about the streets, and his successive experiences as ironmonger, preacher, bookseller and printer gave him a curious business capacity, which actually made him the most successful journalist of his day. The introduction of advertisements into newsbooks was an innovation of which he was the originator, and, though he was not the first in the field, he first realised the practical advantages of establishing advertising offices. He has thus left an enduring mark upon an important side of English journalism.

For his early history we are indebted to the controversy which he had with John Taylor—one of the Royal Watermen, and "Water-Poet" as he loved to call himself, a devoted loyalist and Churchman. Walker had decidedly the worst of the encounter, for Taylor's one weapon was ridicule—the deadliest and most effective that could be used against the Puritans. A pamphlet published by Taylor in 1641[1] led to *An Answer* by Walker, scurrilous in language, and foul in the charges he made against his opponent, coupled with an exhortation to repent in the most approved canting manner. Taylor answered him with *A Reply as True as Steele. To a Rusty, Rayling, Ridiculous, Lying Libell, which was Lately Written by an Impudent, Unsoder'd Ironmonger.* In this he pointed out that the verse in Walker's *Answer* was stolen from Fenner, "the dead riming poet," and told a story of Walker having pawned his Bible for a quart of metheglin at the 'Owl' in Kings Street. The frontispiece to this pamphlet contained a disgusting woodcut, and for the anagram "V. R. Heavenly K. R.," attached to Walker's *Answer*, Taylor suggested a new one—"Knav, 'Reviler' Hel". Walker replied with *Taylor's Physicke has Purged the Divel* (the rest of the title is unquotable), illustrating the frontispiece of his pamphlet with an infinitely worse woodcut than Taylor's, and after several pages of scurrility he accused Taylor of being a thief

[1] *A Swarm of Sectaries and Schismatiques, etc.*

and predicted a sudden death for him. He also boasted of his "pedegree" and the coat of arms which he said he possessed, asserting that Taylor's was "farre inferior". Taylor replied to this in verse, without descending to Walker's level, in *The Irish Footman's Poetry—the Author George Richardson an Hibernian Pedestrian.* In this he lampooned Walker unmercifully, ridiculing his claim to be of the ancient family of Walker of Bredsall, and averring that he was the son of Richard Walker nicknamed "Cherry Lickam," who used to travel about the country with a trained ape.

On 5th January, 1642, the day after he had unsuccessfully attempted to arrest the five members in the House of Commons, King Charles I. visited the city, and dined with the sheriff Sir George Garrett. As the King drove home in his coach with the Earl of Essex through St. Paul's Churchyard, the crowd raised cries of "Privilege of Parliament," and there was a considerable amount of noise which "troubled" the King. Walker, probably fancying that he would be undiscovered, seized the opportunity to throw one of his pamphlets into the coach, and into the King's face. When the King arrived at Whitehall the pamphlet, which bore the title *To your Tents, O Israel,* was read and found to be an open solicitation to rebellion. The Lord Chief Justice was sent for the next day, and a warrant issued for the arrest of Walker and the printer.

The uncomplimentary references to Walker's personal appearance are so numerous that, as will be easily understood, there could be little difficulty in identifying him. He had a round yellow face, and red hair, which, coupled with the treacherous part he played against the King later on, procured him the nickname of "Judas".[1] When captured, he asserted that he did not throw the pamphlet into the King's

[1] *Mercurius Britanicus, His Welcome to Hell.* See also the writer's article in the *Nineteenth Century and After,* March, 1908, on "Henry Walker, Journalist of the Commonwealth," for an account of Walker and his anagrams.

coach and denied that he had written it, adding that he had bought it from a schoolboy in Westminster Hall for 2s. 6d. This statement he signed. The printer was then captured and examined, and confessed that the whole of the night previous to the King's journey into the city had been spent by Walker and himself in writing and printing the pamphlet, and that his wife's Bible had been borrowed in order to find the text for its headline. Both were then committed to the King's Bench Prison in Southwark.

While being removed across the Thames for trial at the sessions at Newgate a week later, they were rescued by a mob at Blackfriars. Taken twice afterwards, Walker again twice escaped. Once he preached in the Church of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey, causing a riot as the result. At last Sir John Conyers, Lieutenant of the Tower, captured him in a boat on the Thames, and he was tried at the Old Bailey on 12th July, 1642. If there was one thing that the Parliament was anxious to prove in the eyes of the world at this time it was, that it was not about to rebel against the King personally but against his advisers. Consequently it is fairly certain that Walker's incitement to take up arms, coupled with the personal insult to the sovereign, would have led to the infliction upon him of the cruel punishment then in vogue for high treason—hanging, drawing and quartering. The King, however, wrote to the Parliament that Walker was not to suffer in life or limb, and consequently he was only tried for misdemeanour. He was convicted of writing, publishing, and receiving money for the sale of his libel; he then begged the King's pardon, retracted what he had written "with tears," and for punishment was condemned to stand in the pillory in Cheapside.

Taylor seized the opportunity to publish a biography of Walker,[1] and followed this up by a burlesque sermon entitled: *A seasonable lecture . . . as it might be delivered in Hatcham Barne . . . by Henry Walker. Taken in short writing by "Thorny*

[1] *The Whole Life and Progress of Henry Walker the Ironmonger.*

Ailo" (Taylor's anagram). Walker was never to hear the last of this sermon of his on "Tobies dogges tayle" as it was called, and he never again entered into controversy with a Royalist. On 23rd January, 1643, he published his *Modest Vindication*, but in a very different style from that of his pamphlet entitled *Taylor's Physick*. In this he made no further attack on Taylor, and called down the blessings of heaven on the King for his "gracious favour," which, he said, "soared my affection so high to love and honour him that could I lay down my life to do him service, I should think my death a blessed sacrifice". He again denied that he had thrown the pamphlet into the King's coach, and that he was either a Brownist or Anabaptist. In comparison with his earlier pamphlets, the affectation of learning in this document, with its Scriptural and classical quotations and wealth of pious platitudes, is as curious as pretentious.

Walker does not seem to have had much to do with journalism until 1647, when he appeared as the author of *Perfect Occurrences of Every Daies Journal*, which, he states, had up to that time been written by another hand. His vanity forbade his publishing anonymously, yet he was afraid of signing his weekly pamphlet with his own name. Consequently he invented a false one by anagramatizing Henry Walker into "Luke Harruney"—probably the most successful anagram on record, for it has led to "Luke Harruney" being considered and catalogued as a separate person. *Perfect Occurrences* was one of the organs of the army, and consequently of Independency, and the growth in power of the latter faction can be traced by the increase in importance of Walker's newsbook. By the end of 1647 it had not only become important enough to be printed on the larger "tiffany" or "cobweblaune" sheets, like the *Perfect Diurnall*, but it had also doubled its size—consisting of two sheets, *i.e.*, sixteen pages.

Gilbert Mabbott was temporarily removed from his post of licenser some weeks before the month of September, 1647,

probably by the Presbyterians. Who then took his place is not clear, for about this time Walker petitioned the House of Lords that some one should read his *Occurrences* before he printed them. On 27th September Walker had so far ingratiated himself with the Parliament, that he and Mathew Simmons, "having been at great charges in printing all the papers of the army in one volume," were ordered by the House of Lords "to have the sole printing of them for one year" from the date thereof. He was thus brought into the public view, and a *Fresh Whip for all Scandalous Lyers* describes him as "He whose face is made of brasse, his body of iron and his teeth are as long as tenpenny nayles," and adds: "I think he is a youth not unknown to most in the City since the great preferment he had to stand in the pillory. He is a great merchant in this way of writing and very excellent for the framing a title for an old, or new lye. This is he that when our men lay of one side of Shotover Hill against Oxford, he got the favour to discharge a peece of Ordnance against the City. When he had done, for London he came, with a greater report and execution than ever the piece did, that he had shot down one of the chiefest colleges in the University and that he could perceive the very battlements to fall. And after this great victory of his, because he would be taken notice of, he causes his printer to set down the very place where he lives, as for example London printed for Thomas" (*sic*) "Walker living at a great brick house and balcony as you turne up to St. James's, when indeed the three cornered house without a roofe turning up to Padington were more fitter" (*i.e.*, Tyburn gallows), "I must confesse he doth take a great deale more pains than the other" (Pecke), "in compacting his relations together, and it doth chiefly lye in running up and down. He may well be called the Bellman of the City, for he is up all houres in the night, running too and agen from the Post house. And when he is questioned with 'Who goes there?'—'My name is Walker, I am about the States service, pray do not stop me'—when he

hath been at a printing house laying his sower leven of raylings and scandalisings against honest and reverend men, or else compacting his damnable lyes together—I wonder he never met with the Divell, but indeed he was ever a favourer of lyes, and I believe hath granted him a large Patten" (patent) "for his profession.—I do think that his and many other scurrilous pamphlets, have done more mischief in the kingdome, than ever all my Lord of Essex's or Sir Thomas Fairefaxes whole traine of artillery ever did." The private house referred to was the Fountain, Kings Street, Westminster, in which street Cromwell lived; and a close connection with Henry Walker, through Cromwell's favourite chaplain Hugh Peters,[1] may thus be inferred.

One subdivision of the Independent party was that of the Levellers, led chiefly by John Lilburne. They may be roughly defined as a political party of pure Republicans, and their opinions, tending to place all power in the hands of the people and to reduce that of Parliament to a minimum, had caused disputes and mutinies since 1645. Lilburne's amazing contentiousness and voluminous pamphlets, coupled with his skill in legal resources and quibbles, render the Levellers' controversy too complicated to be more than noticed here.

A Royalist writer of the year 1650 sums up the great parties in a very striking simile:—

"They act their part like the armie of God's vengeance and devoure like the foure destroying worms, the Palmer worm, the Locust, the Cankerworm and the Caterpillar, these may be alluded to in what is foul in our Westminster furies and State harpies. First the Palmer worm is that united Rebellion of the two Houses of Parliament against our King which did eat up part of our fruits. Secondly the covenanting brethren of Presbytery as the Locust which swarmed and scaling the walls of loyalty eate up what the Palmer worm left. Thirdly the Cankerworm, the levelling blas-

[1] Hugh Peters' letter reporting the taking of Drogheda in 1649 was to Walker (*Mercurius Pragmaticus*, 25th September to 2nd October, 1649).

phemous atheist, poysoned peoples hearts and eate up those small fruits of loyalty which the Locust had left. Fourthly and lastly, the Caterpillar, the Independent Regicide, the most devouring of all others, hath eaten up our fruits, destroyed our vines, killed the Lord of our Vineyard, scattered his workmen and servants, taken all his possessions into their hands, and have made themselves lords and rulers over his inheritance." [1]

The King a prisoner—handed over to Parliament by the Scots—and the triangular conflict proceeding between the Presbyterian, the Independent and the Leveller, the Independent army became the arbiter of the nation's fate. The people, citizen and Presbyterian alike, by this time were longing for their King, and for the disbanding of the army. "Their summum bonum is their profit and the goddess they adore is 'dea moneta,'" remarks a Royalist writer of the army. ". . . How many poor hirelings who before these warres fed on scraps and would have run a dozen miles for an old jerkin, now doe ruffle it in silks and satins, now bravely mounted and attended, fare deliciously, scorn their old benefactors, insult and domineer over all. To set forth—what learned men are compelled to crouch and creep to a company of thick skulled peasants. How many learned and grave bishops and other Orthodox divines (the honour of our nation and the glory of our Church) have been degraded, ejected, persecuted, despised, reproached, imprisoned, banished, destroyed; and fools, brainless and scandalous livers preferred, encouraged, rewarded, and worshipped as so many gods. That the kingdom is become a very chaos, a confusion of manners, and 'domicilium infamorum'—the theatre of hypocrisy—a nursery of villainy, the scene of babbling, the school of giddiness, the academy of Vice. . . . If I declare the army as Seditious, schismaticall, and cruel as ever, what newes is it? Know not all men that they are the scum of

[1] *Mercurius Pragmaticus for King Charles II.*, 8th-15th January, 1649-50, p. 2. The text is from the prophet Joel, i. 4.

the kingdom, an aggregate body of poor and bad fellows 'profligatae famae ac vitae'. Such and no other were the followers of Cataline when he rebelled in Rome, of the same extraction and lineage that Cade, Straw, and Kette came of. Men of desperate and deadly principles."[1]

It was, however, the Presbyterian parson, disappointed in the hoped-for supremacy of his own creed, that now led the way in the universal dislike of the army—the Presbyterian described later on by Marchamont Nedham as "Temporising Adoniram, Geneva John, with his canonicall ruff about his neck, snarling enough to set all the dogs in the Butcher Row upon his raw bones. He trips along the Change in his trunk hose, and his satin doublet as old as the charter of the City pinkt' with the equivocation of velvet sleeves and canvas back."[2] After the abduction of the King from Holdenby, the fear that the army intended to murder him was added to all this—a crime as odious equally to the Roundhead as to the Cavalier.

No Royalist periodicals other than *Aulicus* and *Academicus* had as yet appeared; but, with the hearty good-will of the people, London was now to be deluged with them. It was nominally exempt from the power of the army, so a committee for the militia was appointed on 2nd September. On the following day the House of Commons gave this committee power to suppress all pamphlets, diurnals and the like, and the vending and dispersing of them. The answer of the Royalists to this was the setting on foot of a series of Royalist Mercuries, attacking and exposing the rebels and the leaders of the army in a manner intended to render them odious to the people.

The history of the press has nothing to parallel the efforts now made by the Parliament to stamp out this hostile press and suppress the Royalist writers, nor has it any such abject

[1] *Mercurius Elencticus*, No. 14, 23rd February to 1st March, 1648, p. 102.

[2] *Mercurius Britannicus*, No. 2, 26th July to 2nd August, 1652.

failure to record. There was no longer a band of scriveners addressing the nation but a number of officers, clergymen and ballad writers, both Royalist and Roundhead, who treated the tailors and cobblers officering the army and the tradesmen bent on enriching themselves in Parliament as rogues and thieves, using the very plainest speech to describe their enemies' failings and to comment on their aims and objects.

The first of the Royalist Mercuries, *Mercurius Melancholicus; or, Newes from Westminster and other Parts*, started by a Presbyterian minister, John Hackluyt, D.D., who must have been a descendant of the great geographer of that name, appeared on 4th September, 1647, and on its title-page were the following verses—the first constituting as will be noticed a chronogram —1647 :—

ReX CaroLe a te VaLeat Ita
eVangeLIVM sCotIa
per te VIgeat HIbernIa
Vt In te fLoreat In AngLIâ
LegIs, & paCIs gratIa

Eheu ! quid feci misero mihi ? Floribus Austrum
Perditus & liquidis immisi fontibus apros
Woe is me, undone, with blasts the flowers doe fade
The chrystall springs by Swine, are puddle made.
I. H.

This first number gave a picture of the state of mind of those who had fought against the King, which was not calculated to please either the Parliament or the army, and unfortunately for Dr. Hackluyt he also mortally offended the Cavaliers by his opening sentences :—

" The King now shall enjoy his owne againe and the Royall throne shall be arraied with the glorious presence of that mortall Diety " (*sic*), " but first let him beare his charge, for 'tis said, his armies having lost the field, theil now charge him home, there's a trivial thing called the innocent blood of three kingdomes is first to be required and a few more such sleight matters and then let him enjoy it if he can, but for your further instructions herein you had better ask the Parliament ".

Language such as this could not be tolerated from any one professing to call himself a Royalist, as this Puritan preacher now did, and his claim to write *Melancholicus* at all was promptly challenged by the author of the famous old song he had quoted, Martin Parker, the ballad writer, who is chiefly known to us as the writer of "When the King shall enjoy his own again," and "When the stormy winds do blow".[1]

Eventually Parker beat Hackluyt out of the field, and the numbers of his *Mercurius Melancholicus*, which he persistently declares to be the only true and original *Melancholicus*, can generally be distinguished by the different style. Another opponent to Hackluyt also promptly issued a counterfeit *Melancholicus*, carefully choosing the day (Friday) preceding that on which the others first appeared. His name is given as Swallow Crouch, and either he or Hackluyt (which, it is not clear) was said by Parker to have been an Irishman. He was a printer and the writer of a large number of counterfeits, and probably is to be identified with John Crouch.[2]

Hackluyt was frequently in prison for writing *Melancholicus*, and after one escape from prison he had again recommenced writing in opposition to Parker, and, as after due warning he did not desist, Parker thus denounces him:—

[1] Martin Parker's exertions in the royal cause have not received the attention they deserve. Prose tracts "by Melancholicus" are easily identified, such as "A Nose-gay for the House of Commons made up of the Stincking Flowers of their Seven Years Labours" (15th August, 1648), but the ballads require more care. "Troy-Novant Must not be Burnt" (8th May, 1648), "Pratle your Pleasure (under the Rose)," "I Thanke you Twice," and the like are probably his.

[2] According to the Stationers' Register there were two John Crouches who were printers. It may, however, be said with something like certainty that John Crouch the journalist and ballad writer was not the John Crouch who wrote "A Mixt Poem," etc. Whether this last was not a third John Crouch must be left to experts. For the statements as to the three writers of *Melancholicus* see *Mercurius Morbicus*, No. 4, 20th-27th September, 1647, p. 7; also *Mercurius Anti-Mercurius*, No. 1, 12th-19th September, 1648.

"Gentlemen,

"All you that love God and King Charles, in whose eyes I have been acceptable. I shall desire you to take notice of a couple of unclean beasts that (after fair warning) still do abuse both with your purses and my patience by counterfeits. The one is a Buffoon scoundrel Hackleite, I will not say priest, least I more abuse that holy function than himself has done by his vile incontinency, having more wives—nay thrice as many as he hath suits to his back." He continues: "he was sometime chaplain to Ned Massey Generalissimo of Gloucestershire" (for the Parliament), "where he was a long time fed out of the estate of Sir John Winter" (a Catholic and the Queen's secretary). "He hath taken the Covenant and been in actual rebellion against his King, he is as religious as a windmill, and turns which way the wind blows, a person so treacherous and courteous also, that were the King here disguised, for 6 pence he would kisse him, cry Hayle Master! and deliver him up to his crucifiers at Westminster. He will betray himself at any time to prison for a pint of sack, and his friend for 'Thanks'. The other is a blackmore 'mercury' that hath cunning enough (should panphleting be put down) to turn gypsie, and get as many hundreds as she hath lately by her trading."

If Martin Parker really produced an earlier number of *Melancholicus* than the one I have described, it has yet to be found. He terminates this denunciation with:—

Although a shepherd of Arcadia
I never left my flock and run away
My pipe is sacred, dedicate to Pan
Cannot be broke by the rude hands of man
On yonder oake it hangs where Tytan plays
When Nymphs and Shepherds keep their Holy days
There with my sheep hook will I it defend
Or play with him dares against Pan contend
Whilst Mævius with loose and jigging rimes
Dance before Sin. I sing to cure the times.[1]

[1] *Mercurius Melancholicus*, No. 52, 14th-21st August, 1648. Burney, 32.

It will thus be seen that the different numbers of *Melancholicus* require careful scrutiny, in order to decide who was their author.

The first number of the second of the three "grand Mercuries," as they were called, to distinguish them from minor ones, appeared on 21st September, 1647, and was entitled: *Mercurius Pragmaticus. Communicating Intelligence from all Parts touching all Affaires, Designes, Humours and Conditions throughout the Kingdome. Especially from Westminster and the Head-quarters.* Many different periodicals, with numerous variations of this title, are comprised under the catchword *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, which lasted until the middle of the year 1650, and is of very varying authorship and merit. Two poets are chiefly to be associated with *Pragmaticus:* the one, the Cavalier and satirist John Cleiveland, the glory of St. John's College, Cambridge, the other, the Rev. Samuel Sheppard, of whom little is known, but who states in *Mercurius Aulicus* (of 1648) that he was a Lincolnshire man. He was a past master of quaint description, and deserves careful study.

Aubrey in his *Brief Lives* says of Cleiveland: "He and Sam Butler of Grayes Inne" (the author of *Hudibras*) "had a clubb every night," and probably at these social evenings in Gray's Inn a good many of the numbers of *Pragmaticus* and other periodicals were put together. *Mercurius Anti-Mercurius* (4th April, 1648) states that Cleiveland was its author.[1]

[1] "This same Pragmaticus (alias J. Cleveland) was formerly a University chitton but now he is chief press whelp. I took him first for a chilver Cavalier because he vented such loud feminine scoldings—His chief subject of jeering is Religion—But sirrah Pragmaticus what's become of your religious ballad singers, your devout bellows-blowers, your divine fiddlers, your godly pipers, together with your heavenly Bawdy Court (Star Chamber). Whats become of your wooden Doctors, your leaden-headed Deans, your thundering Canons, your lazy prebends, your simmonising chancellors, your sheep-biting bite-sheeps (Bishops I would say), your treason plotting Arch-bite sheeps with the rest of that Divellish hierarchy."

His motto was "Nemo me impune lacessit"; Sheppard's motto was "Quis me impune lacessit".[1]

The *Metropolitan Nuncio*[2] also writes of *Pragmaticus*: "Sam Shepheard that blasphemous clergy spot, being the primo genitor of this accursed spawne, for the greater solemnity being invested in his pontificalibus with all the ceremonies of the Babylonish smock" (*i.e.*, surplice) "christn'd the brat and called his name Pragmaticus". The first number of the same periodical[3] also clearly states that I. C. (*i.e.*, Cleiveland) was then (6th July, 1649) the writer of it, Sheppard that of *Elencticus*, and John Taylor the writer of *Melancholicus*.

Mercurius Pragmaticus for King Charles II., No. 1, 10th-17th September, 1649, also commences as follows:—

"Nay never cross the cudgels" (that is give up the struggle). . . .

"Gentlemen! I confess that I have refrained my pen some time from writing this intelligence and suffered another to imitate the piece I first began. . . . But since I gave it over (finding impudence to become more bold and myself and the piece much wronged by an impious hand that writ *Britanicus* and a Hue and Cry against the King)" (*i.e.*, Nedham). "Knowing the damage redounded to all the loyal readers as well as my own reputation, I am resolved once more to enter the

[1] *Pragmaticus* has been universally attributed to Marchamont Nedham, but the writer wishes to point out that Anthony à Wood does not say that Nedham *originated it*. In any case Nedham's connection with it came to an end before June, 1649, when he was imprisoned and recanted. Wood is totally wrong in saying that Nedham started *Politicus* in 1649. Nor is any confirmation to be found of his story of Nedham's interview with the King. At the date of the *Committee Man's Complaint* (? by Cleiveland)—26th August, 1647—Nedham is shown by the references in it to him to have been still on the side of the rebels, and on 21st September the first number of *Pragmaticus* appeared.

[2] No. 3, 6th-13th June, 1649. This is the only number in the Thomason Collection; it is also the last. Sheppard remarks at this date: "I broke his heart, and he his printer".

[3] The *Metropolitan Nuncio*, No. 1 (*i.e.*, 2; No. 1 was *Mercurius Militaris*), 30th May to 6th June, 1649. Burney, 34.

lists against these monstrous Goliah's at Westminster, and never give them over till I make their own swords their own executioners."

Cleiveland's part was probably that of adviser or editor, and Sheppard's that of working writer not only of *Pragmaticus* but also of a number of the other Mercuries. It is clear that the identity of the writers was concealed in order to escape arrest. *Pragmaticus* served as a model for all subsequent Mercuries, and Cleiveland may well have been unwilling to own to the rough rhymes with which they invariably commenced. Those on the first number are as follows :—

When as we liv'd in peace (God wot)
A King would not content us
But we forsooth must hire the Scot
To all-be-Parliament us.

Then down went King and Bishop too
On goes the holy wirke
Betwixt them and the Brethren blue
T'advance the Crown and Kirke.

But when that these had reign'd a time
Robb'd kirk and sold the Crown
A more religious sort up climbe
And crush the Jockies downe.

But now we must have peace again
Let none with fear be vext
For, if without the King these reign
Then heigh down they goe next
"Nemo me impune lacessit."

General Fairfax wrote to the Speaker of the House of Peers on 21st September, requesting Mabbott's reappointment as licenser, and desiring fresh legislation against the stream of pamphlets which now began to issue against both Parliament and army. On 28th September, therefore, an ordinance was passed, which prescribed the following penalties for the unlicensed periodicals. On the "author" 40s. or 40 days' imprisonment; on the printer 20s. or 20 days; on the bookseller 10s. or 10 days. These penalties were

cumulative, and, in addition, the hawker, pedlar or ballad singer was to be whipped and to have the whole of her or his stock confiscated. Mabbott was also reappointed licenser on 30th September. All that the Act succeeded in accomplishing was to elicit the following comment:—

"What will become of me—poor *Pragmaticus?* For I hear the vertuous Earl of Manchester" (Speaker of the House of Lords, who had turned Cleiveland out of his fellowship of St. John's) "hath issued out a warrant and sent his beagles abroad to hunt me out, which is the most dangerous design he ever ventured upon since the time of King catching. For my motto is 'Nemo me impune lacessit,' and truly I have a bottle or two of ink to bestow upon his lordship and friends though (if I may use John Lilburn's language) I do perish in the attempt."

On 5th November appeared the third of the "grand Mercuries," entitled: *Mercurius Elencticus. Communicating the Unparallell'd Proceedings at Westminster, the Head Quarters, and other Places, Discovering their Designs, Reproving their Crimes, and Advising the Kingdome.*

This was written by Captain, afterwards Sir George Wharton, Bart., with the aid of Sheppard when he was in prison, and is much the most valuable periodical of the three owing to the detailed and exact biographical information of the rebels and regicides which it aims at giving (an example will be quoted and corroborated later on). *Elencticus* had no counterfeits. Captain Wharton came of an ancient and wealthy family in Westmorland. Educated as a sojourner at Oxford, he was the sole Royalist who was an astrologer and was the inveterate enemy of William Lilly, the chief astrologer on the Parliament's side. He had spent the whole of his patrimony in raising a troop of horse for the King's service. He was the writer of *A List of Members of Parliament*, who were officers in the army contrary to the Self-denying Ordinance, and gives in this List particulars of the sums of money they had voted to themselves, and of a

Second List called also the *Second Centurie*. The two documents constitute a scathing exposure.[1]

Naturally the writers of the licensed newsbooks did their best in the hunt which now began, and the special object of Henry Walker's rancour was John Hackluyt, as being a Presbyterian who would not turn Independent. The castigation which he had received some years back at the hands of John Taylor made him chary of interfering with *Pragmaticus* and the rest; but one of his own cloth was another matter, so he even commenced a periodical—*Mercurius Medicus*—against Hackluyt, and procured the writing of another entitled *Mercurius Morbicus*. In this, with characteristic mendacity, Hackluyt's name is described as being Hacket, and Hackluyt himself as "descended of the ancient family, whereof came that reverent hereticke" (William Hacket) "who blasphemed God upon the Gibbet in Cheapside, with the halter about his necke, in Queen Elizabeth's days," and a "frenzie priest".

Parker, however, promptly took up the challenge and wrote:—

"The Right Reverend ironmonger (the same as is suspected that preacht at Hatcham Barne the learned sermon upon Tobies dogs tayle) would be trade fallen shortly if he handled his text when he preached before the twelve bishops in the Tower as well as he did *Melancholicus* in his last week's intelligence. Sirrah you—rogue, who told you *Melancholicus* was a priest, or had you it from your father the everlasting lyar?"

And:—

[1] These important documents have as press marks 669, f. 12 (105) and 669, f. 13 (10, 22). An "Answer" was published by Lilly in his *Astrological Prediction* for 1648, 1649, etc. (E. 462 (I)). The two former are not taken from Clement Walker's *History of Independency* as Wood states. Nor is there any reason to attribute the first document to Clement Walker in view of Wharton's distinct statements in *Mercurius Elencticus* that he wrote it. There is also a counterfeit of the *Second Centurie* (E. 458 (12)).

"Martin Parker it seems hath penned a very doleful ballad called Luke Harruney's confession and lamentation at the gallowes, to the tune of the 'Earle of Essex last good-night'".

Finally he gave Walker's epitaph at the gallows:—

> Here hangs Walker in a string
> That Judas like did hate his King
> Faithless, fruitless he was ever
> Except in lies, but loyal never
> From hence h'as taken wings to be
> Old Beelzebub's chief Mercury.

Walker's Mercuries appeared no more—he was silenced. The ordinance of September, 1647, was soon consigned to the lumber room, and the Royalist writers were simply committed to prison during the year 1648 without warrant or form of law until they escaped (as they invariably did). Before telling their story, the appearance, on 27th November, of a fourth Mercury—*Mercurius Bellicus, or An Alarum to all Rebells*, requires notice. This was written by John Berkenhead, the former author of *Aulicus*.[1]

On 16th October the printer of *Pragmaticus* was captured and sent to Newgate. On 19th October the printer of *Melancholicus* was fined. Wharton had contracted the plague at the commencement of August,[2] and so was not suspected or captured until the following year.

On 27th November, 1647, the House of Commons, seeing the failure of their ordinance and that the Mercuries still went on, appointed a committee to inquire after the authors, printers and publishers of *Melancholicus*, *Pragmaticus*, *Elencticus* and *Bellicus*, which by this time were making direct personal

[1] *Mercurius Anti-Mercurius*, 4th April, 1648 (written by John Harris—"Oxford Jack")—says, "Make room for Mars his pettytoe one of Bellonaes Whiflers sirnamed Bellicus, whose might lyes in his muzzle, makes Crackers for the Cavaliers, and is the sole engine to crowne authority into an atom, he looks like a Kentish pippin codled in the sinciput of Tom Summers". Then follows an unquotable verse with a reference to his "goggle-eyes" which "Durst neer see sword in wrath". The description recalls Aubrey's remark about Berkenhead's eyes.

[2] Ashmole's *Life*.

attacks upon all the ruling members of the two Houses and the army, lampooning them in every possible way, and exposing their private lives. A veritable *chronique scandaleuse* can henceforth be obtained from the Royalist Mercuries concerning Marten, Weaver, Scot, Corbet, Mildmay and Serjeant Wilde. No accusations of leading a licentious life are made against Cromwell, though *allusions* to his debauched life as a youth, when he was a brewer at Ely, are so frequent as to carry conviction of a notorious truth. The blemishes attributed to his character are lying and treachery, but beyond the standing joke against his nose little else is said.[1]

For intelligence of what was happening in the country or abroad the pages of the Royalist Mercuries are almost valueless; since they had neither offices nor regular correspondents. For what was happening around them in London day by day they are, however, of the highest importance, and their comments on the licensed newsbooks, side by side of which they should be read, are at times quite illuminating.

[1] The parish registers of St. John's, Huntingdon, contain the following memoranda under the years 1621 and 1628 respectively: "Oliverus Cromwell reprehendus erat coram tota Ecclesia pro factis," and "Hoc anno Oliverus Cromwell fecit penitentiam coram tota ecclesia". Both entries have been tampered with, and an attempt made to scratch them out. (Information kindly given by the Rector of All Saints.)

CHAPTER VI.

1648.

On 6th January, 1648, an order was issued that the Committee for the Suppression of "Scandalous" Pamphlets should sit daily and that sums should be paid to those who discovered "malignant" presses; and the jailer of Peterhouse Prison was at the same time reproved because prisoners had escaped. On the 9th a fresh committee of the Commons was ordered to sit, and consider a more effectual ordinance for preventing "scandalous" pamphlets.

Wharton thus comments on the proceedings of the House (on 9th January):—

"Then they spent some idle minutes about scandalous and unlicensed pamphlets and some gal'd hackneys kicked and flung unluckily (Miles Ugly especially) who pressed hard how much prejudiciall they had been and were yet to their affairs (of murthering the king) and how dishonourable to the nation, etc. . . . Is it not a sad thing that Miles Corbet cannot hand a harlot to the water side unless he be both cudgelled and robbed of his pleasure? Is not Harry Martin to be pitied that he cannot enjoy his mistresses (in his new buildings) without the world be told of it? Is it not lamentable that the Reverend Justice Wild" cannot do the like but "have it proclaimed on the Housetop? Indeed 'tis a pittiful thing."

The sting of all this lay in its absolute truth.

On 11th January the House of Commons gave power to the Committee for "Scandalous" Pamphlets to employ such persons as they should think fit to prosecute, etc., and passed a resolution to employ "honest able men to answer the scandalous pamphlets and undeceive the people therein". On 15th

January the Committee of both Kingdoms was abolished, and the English members alone were retained with some additions. Hereafter known as the Derby House Committee, from the place at Westminster where they sat, these men now became the virtual wielders of the sovereign power of England.

On the same day the Parliament voted that there should be no further addresses to the King, and that none should be presented to His Majesty by any one without leave, and that if any should be presented to him without such leave the act should constitute high treason. Two thousand horse and foot had been ordered to London on the previous day (14th January) to protect the Parliament from the people. London and the nation were now on the side of the King, and, in its struggle with both King and nation, the Parliament had to rely on the Independent army, which it (or the Presbyterian part of it) hated.

The Committee of Derby House (converted into the Council of State in 1649) is thus described at the commencement of the following year: "And now I speak of them 'vous avez' Darby House the second 'modus habendi' of this high, huge, mighty, grand, great Council of State. These are the Court Cards of the last order, that must do the feat which is to be lengthened, like a sparrow's mouth from year to year, till all our freedoms and liberties are swallowed up therein. Here the Grandees power seems to be more contracted than in its mother Mr. Speakers conventicle for let Carrot-nose command the beagles at Westminster anything to the Table men of State the dispatch is of undisputed nature, when once the light of his countenance hath been lifted upon it. I wonder what such children of darkness have to do with candles in the night, 'slid his nose would give them a better light and lead them into all cruelty. But though he seems here like a pillar of fire leading the rest of the kitling kings to their imagined Canaan, yet is he here but in swadling clouts, in respect of his perfect capacity in the Council of War. Here

he is in full stature of Prince. Here's the help at Maw, the Pigeons to the feet, these are the Emperique politicians that kill or cure by the minerall, the barberous surgeons of the Commonwealth. When the father, son, and precious Harrison" (an attorney's clerk and son of a butcher at Newcastle-under-Lyme) "are in this capacity, they are like the High Priest in Sanctum Sanctorum where none of the wicked can touch them. With the Council of State they cry 'Justice for the people'. With the Parliament they cry a fig for the Council of State, but with the Council of War they give defiance to the People, Parliament and all. Here they are armed 'cap-a-pe' like lobsters, here they are in State of Grace, in full meridian." [1]

On 25th February rewards were offered for the capture of the writers of *Melancholicus* and *Pragmaticus*, and Martin Parker is found exclaiming: "But £20 for *Melancholicus!* Come along customers, who bids more—he will yield a better price than this in Turkie. Come on Mr. Selden—the other £20 and then he shall tell you more of his minde—an ordinance for it too!"

The utmost efforts were now made to suppress the Mercuries. Spies (their names are innumerable) and pursuivants were set in pursuit of the writers and the Mercury women who sold their periodicals. In the Stationers' Company one Hunscot, a printer, with his "crew of rake-shames," was the leader. John Partridge, also, with his "pumpion red nose," who, as an almanac publisher, was particularly keen on capturing Wharton—the inveterate enemy of Lilly and the rest of the "State necromancers"—Booker, Fisk, Lathom and others. The City Marshall and his "lubbards" joined in the hunt against the women hawkers, who, when caught, were lashed and imprisoned until they divulged the names of those who had given them the

[1] *Mercurius Militaris*, No. 1, 24th April, 1649. The passage is clearly by John Cleiveland and must be taken as a sample of his editorship, for the rest of the periodical is of a very inferior literary stamp.

pamphlets to sell. The inducement to them to sell the Royalist Mercuries (which they carried in their "plackets," while selling the licensed newsbooks openly) was their greater popularity, and the fact that these Mercuries sold for double the price of the others, namely, twopence instead of a penny; an important point to remember when the price of an "ordinary," or, as we should say, *table d' hôte* dinner, was only threepence.

"Melancholicus" writes on 22nd January: "There is a generation called Peepers, creatures of the Committees now beginning, who like the Devil (their chief Lord) thrust their heads into every corner to finde out objects whereon to vent their traiterous and base designs. I am sure any honest man abhorres the thought of 'em, only the Honourable Parliament allows them stipends to betray the innocent. How many honest men have they abused in finding out *Pragmaticus* and *Melancholicus*, as Mr. Shepheard, Mr. Hacklet and others, yet the gentlemen are as innocent as the day" (!); and "Elencticus" adds on the 2nd of February: "But I feare I am too loud since so many whisperers attend me. Thirty couple (a goodly pack) are appointed by the Houses to listen and eavesdrop the city. The members allow them £52 10s. a week—that's £2,756 per annum."

Marchamont Nedham appears at first to have written a counterfeit *Pragmaticus* commencing in the middle of November, 1647. A parliamentarian Mercury, entitled *Anti-Pragmaticus*, had been started from the first in opposition to *Pragmaticus*, and this has no allusion to Nedham until 3rd February, 1648, when it remarks: "Thou wert once of another temper *Pragmaticus*, and that, the whole Kingdom who read thee by another name know O gold what a god art thou and O man what a devill art thou to worship its illustrious hew". The reason which led Nedham to turn Royalist was simply his discovery that Royalist journalism paid best. From this time to nearly the end of the year the periodical appears to have been abandoned to him (Sheppard

was writing other Mercuries), and it assumes the scolding and tiresome style familiar to readers of *Britanicus*—his old Roundhead journal.

That the Royalist Mercuries, although they had neither offices nor staffs, had sometimes good and unwelcomely truthful information, is perfectly clear from the following anecdote in *Pragmaticus.*

"Friday. Aug. 18. The first business that came in play this day was a deep designe of that deadly spitfire Ned Ashe" (a city linen-draper) "against *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, whom he is resolved to spoil, it seems, by cutting off his conduit pipe of intelligence from Westminster. And therefore he gave Mr. Speaker a good morrow with a timely admonition, telling him that he thought fit to present unto him what he had brought in his pocket, which, said he, is that scurrilous pamphlet *Pragmaticus*. A Fellow, Mr. Speaker, which comes abroad more exact and perfect than he ever did, and relates all passages and whatever we say in the house. And truly except some course be taken to prevent this, by finding out him or his Intelligencer I conceive *we shall quite lose the freedom and privacy of our debates.* And for my part Mr. Speaker I know not whom to accuse but I suspect one of our own clerks, a drunken—debauched fellow with a red face, and I conceive we might do very well to appoint a committee to examine him. Well said, Ned Ashe! Thou hast hit the naile on the head I warrant thee. It is he with the red zealous face—the Man in the Moon that drinks clarret, every jot as wise a woodcock as thine own sweet self—Mr. Speaker being in his dumps, and the whole house in a laughter, it was easily carried, and a committee packed to examine the drunken—debauched fellow with a red face that lives like as very an Antinomian as Ashe himself."

The Calendars of State Papers give no account of the numerous arrests and escapes that continually took place during 1648, but Henry Walker chronicles in *Perfect Occurrences* the capture on each occasion of Dr. Hackluyt.

On 11th March, 1648, he was captured for the second time (he had been captured and had escaped at some uncertain date in 1647), as well as the new printer of *Pragmaticus*, and both were sent to Newgate. He promptly escaped again, and on 25th March Walker writes: "Dr. (as the foole calls himself) Hacklet the writer of *Melancholicus* who ran away from the Committee was this day taken in Grayes Inne Lane and all his wives but one have left him". (On 4th April his printer, Edward Crouch, was taken and sent to prison.) Hackluyt again escaped, and as Sheppard, Parker and others were also engaged in being imprisoned and escaping, "fresh instructions for the punishment of those who wrote scandalous pamphlets were now" (16th June) "passed in the House". Dr. Hackluyt was once more captured on 20th July, and Walker's comment runs: "he was formerly a minister in Gloucester for the Parliament before he had so many wives". There is no record of the imprisonments of Martin Parker or Crouch, but the former appears on one occasion to have been placed in the pillory.[1]

Hackluyt was neither liked nor trusted, and with good reason, by the band of Cavaliers with which he had chosen to associate himself. On his third escape, finding that Parker was writing *Melancholicus* (and alluding to the number I have previously quoted), he suspected Sheppard to be the writer of what he also termed counterfeits, and said he would "break his pipe for him" though he was "a Shepherd of Arcadia".

Sheppard happened to be writing the *Royal Diurnall* at the time, and replied in it: "I have been once or twice heretofore abused, yet winked at it as not willing to show myself against one that pretends to that cause I honour, but being a third time provoked by a Janus faced scribbler . . .

[1] "Melancholicus with three heads whereof two are counterfeits, the one studies the Lamentations in a cage, the second lately peep'd through a pillory, the third lies *Crouch*-ing in every corner for fear of a catch poll" (*Mercurius Anti-Mercurius*, No. 1, 12th-19th September, 1648).

by name Hacklet who exclaims of me as a supplanter of his profit of which I am not the least guilty," proceeded to denounce him very much as Parker had done and as he says to "break his knaves pate for him".

On 8th March, 1648, Wharton wrote in *Elencticus*: "The promise they" (the Derby House Committee) "have made me of so honourable a reward as that of hanging me for my loyalty to my King, hath very much encouraged me to prosecute my work. I am resolved to deserve it at their hands; and therefore lest I might be accounted careless or negligent of my duty, let them take this assurance from me, that I will not fail them once a weeke to let them heare from me. I will not give over till the deluded kingdome be fully possessed of their villainies, or my life be sacrificed in maintaining the cause of my soveraigne."

Before the next number appeared he was captured,[1] and Sheppard writes in *Elencticus* on 15th March, in evident alarm for his friend's life, and hoping to hoodwink the committee: "The news is that poore Elencticus is taken," and "Do not imprison poor Elencticus till you can catch him, at my entreaty let honest Wharton go about his astrologicall affairs, that we may have a new almanack the next year". Again on 23rd March: "Honest Wharton if thou knowest Elencticus prithee calculate his nativity and send him word when he shall enjoy that glory which thou by the Pythagorean transmigration of the State Alchemists dost for a time usurp," adding, "If Corbett have lost his little wit with his less religion and will still say "Thou art 'Elencticus'—spit in his face and tell him he lyes like a Jewe".

Wharton did not lose his life, but was committed to Newgate, where he was detained for nearly six months. He had means and was kept in the precincts of the prison on parole, with a special keeper, and must have contrived still to carry on the writing of *Elencticus* with the aid of Sheppard. This was discovered, and, warned of a "design his grand enemies

[1] Ashmole's *Life*.

had to remove him out of the way," he effected his escape on 26th August, taking refuge at Brandspeth in Durham; but on 23rd September he was recaptured, says Walker in *Perfect Occurrences*, "at an inn in Gracious Street with some other malignant officers". He again escaped, and £30 was offered for him. At the time of the so-called trial of King Charles he recommenced *Elencticus* (No. 1, 31st January to 7th February) with an account of the murder of the King.[1]

The numerous London prisons were now overcrowded; so that usually selected for the Royalist writers was Peterhouse —the Lord Petre's house in Aldersgate Street. On 12th July, 1648, the committee had to report to Parliament that it was dangerous to remove prisoners thence to Derby House for examination, on account of the tumults that occurred, and that it was not safe to bring any more prisoners to London. The keeper of this prison was Henry Cymball, or Symball, a "hard and cruel gaoler," whose name is reminiscent of the chief character in Jonson's *Staple of Newes*. The prisoners had to pay him fees on committal, and he was not bound to maintain them. Martin Parker writes of himself as having got his "foot out of the springe" at Peterhouse on 26th June, where he was "neere starved to death by that murdering villain Symball," and sends his "commendations to his friends there, Mr. Shepheard, John Harrison, and the rest".

Those Cavaliers who had no friends to supply them with money or food had to rely on the "bag and basket". A prisoner's basket was placed at the entrance to the prison for the receipt of broken victuals, and at intervals men were permitted to collect round the town with a bag. A supply of food from these sources was precarious, and Sheppard makes the following appeal in *Elencticus*: "The gentlemen that were sent to Windsor, and many more that lie in Peterhouse, are even ready to starve for want of common necessaries. It will be very acceptable and well pleasing to God if such as love

[1] Burney, 32. This number (supposed to be lost) is set out in full in Appendix A, p. 200.

the King will according to their abilities, contribute a little for their relief. There hath been some examples given of this piety. And no question but those that have or shall extend their charity this way will be undoubtedly rewarded by a better master than those who are the cause of their misery."[1]

Occasionally the prisoners overpowered their guards and escaped *en masse*. Once in the streets they were free, and the provost-marshals or the soldiers did not dare to touch them unless they themselves were in a position either to overpower the crowd, or the crowd itself was friendly—a rare event. On one or two occasions when prisoners were brought before the Committee for Examinations to be questioned, the badgering they then had to undergo, ended in a committee-man being publicly beaten afterwards by some enraged loyalist who had escaped. At the beginning of October, 1648, Corbet himself was caught at Black Friars stairs by a Cavalier, and publicly thrashed with a cane; and that his punishment was severe may be gathered from the fact that, when he appeared in the House some days later to complain (an "honest godly man," says Walker in giving his version of the story), he was enveloped in bandages.[2]

The great object of the Royalist writers was to keep the three grand Mercuries, *Melancholicus*, *Pragmaticus* and *Elencticus*, going, even while their writers were in prison, and this was successfully accomplished almost without a break for two years. When a writer escaped from prison, he either resumed his "editorial chair" or started a new periodical under a new name, and the new name sometimes marked an exceedingly exasperated temper. Hence Samuel Sheppard first appears as writing *Mercurius Dogmaticus* until the

[1] *Mercurius Elencticus*, No. 43, 13th-20th September, 1648. Robert Lesly was pardoned on 27th June, 1663, for shooting Symball (Cal. S. P. Dom., 1663-64, pp. 182 and 418).

[2] *Mercurius Elencticus*, No. 45, 27th September to 4th October, 1648; *Perfect Occurrences*, No. 92, 29th September to 6th October, 1648.

end of January,[1] when the title appears to have been changed; possibly owing to a capture of his printer, for the next number was a revival of *Mercurius Aulicus* under his motto "Quis me impune lacessit" (No. 1, 3rd February, 1648), and he apparently left *Pragmaticus* to Nedham. He was captured, and his periodical came to an end, but he soon escaped. Again captured, he once more escaped and commenced the *Royal Diurnall* (No. 1, 31st July). Thus the lengthy list of Royalist periodicals appreciably narrows into groups.

At the end of August so little progress had been made in suppressing the Royalist Mercuries that their number had actually increased, and Parliament was at its wits' end to know what to do. Mabbott, the licenser, therefore came forward with propositions for the appointment of a special police, under a special provost-marshal. The *Perfect Diurnall* (28th August to 4th September) writes under date 21st August: "A proposition was made to the House by the said Mr. Mabbott for suppressing all scandalous pamphlets which tend so much to the dishonour of this nation. Provided he may be enabled with power to perform the same. The House did well resent the said overture and appointed a committee to confer with and give encouragement to him therein, and likewise to advise with the master and wardens of the Company of Stationers for the carrying on this work. And that the Committee doe upon the whole bring in an ordinance for that purpose."

On reflection, Mabbott declined the office—*Elencticus*

[1] "Surely Hell is broke loose, here is another shews his pallisadoes grinning and snarling like the true begotten of old Cerberus, ycleped Dogmaticus who looks as like Sam Shepeard as if he had bin spit out of his mouth, a right woolfe in sheep's clothing," etc. (*Mercurius Anti-Mercurius*, 4th April, 1648). It is noticeable that the opponents of the Royalist Mercuries, though they heap abuse upon Sheppard, Wharton and others, never attempt to deny either their biographies or the exceedingly grave and serious moral charges made against men like Hugh Peters, Marten, Scot and the rest.

says he was afraid.[1] Therefore on 13th September Francis Bethen was appointed Provost-Marshal to the Parliament, with power within twenty miles of the city of London to seize upon all "scandalous" books and ballads, and their writers and printers, and all actors of interludes and plays. He was allowed 5s. a day for himself, a deputy with 3s. 4d. a day, and twenty men with 1s. 6d. a day each for their allowance. He and his crew of "shakerags and rakeshames" do not seem to have been more successful than the rest of the provost-marshals and spies (also kept on foot); his most prominent capture for some time being a poor Mercury woman, Eleanor Passenger, who was lashed and kept in Peterhouse to betray the Cavaliers there.[2]

Turning from the Royalist periodicals, in order to follow the fortunes of the licensed press, we find the year 1648 equally noteworthy for the licenser Mabbott and the band of writers under his supervision.

The first of the "honest" able men employed to answer the Royalist pamphleteers was Henry Walker, who was also commissioned (by Cromwell says one writer) to publish a book which should justify the murder of the King.[3]

For the contemplated murder some sort of a case had to be prepared and precedents found, and these were discovered in the writings of a famous Jesuit, Father Robert Persons.

Father Persons in 1594 had published, under the pseudonym of Doleman, *A Conference about the Next Succession to the Crown of England.* Few people nowadays would be disposed to question the conclusions of his book, which consisted mainly of a learned historical and legal argument in favour of the right of the people to alter the succession. His object

[1] *Mercurius Elencticus*, No. 43, 13th-20th September, 1648.

[2] *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, No. 277, 12th-19th September, 1648; Cal. State Papers.

[3] "This crop of villainy" (*Severall Speeches*, etc.) "was by perjur'd Noll committed to the care of that saffron bearded Judas Walker" (*Man in the Moon*, No. 12, 27th June to 4th July, 1649, p. 90, and Anthony à Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. ii., c. 71-73).

was to support the claim of the Infanta of Spain to the throne of England on the death of Elizabeth. By the vast majority of English Catholics the book was received with dismay, and there is no doubt it caused them much additional suffering and persecution; Parliament even made it high treason for a copy to be found in a house.

The reasons and historical instances which had so skilfully proved the right to alter the succession might, with very little manipulation, be also used to prove the right of the people to *punish*. But the arguments of a hated Catholic, and Jesuit to boot, could never be acknowledged; so accordingly, on 3rd February, 1648, a piracy of Father Persons' book appeared under the title of *Severall Speeches at a Conference Concerning the Power of Parliament to Proceed against the King for Misgovernment*. No author's name was appended to this, and, of course, no acknowledgment of the source from which it was taken. One of the subheadings pointed out how kings had been lawfully chastised by their Parliaments and Commonwealths, and another, "The lawfulnesse of proceeding against Princes—how oaths do binde or may be broken by subjects". It is to be noted, that this book appeared nearly three months before the famous three days' "prayer"-meeting at Windsor, at which it was decided by the army officers to bring the King "to an account" on their return.

For this piece of literary forgery Henry Walker received, as Anthony à Wood says, the sum of £30. He therefore showed his gratitude to his sovereign for preserving his life, by taking the initiatory step which resulted in that sovereign's death a year later, and his book was largely quoted by Bradshaw at the so-called trial.[1]

[1] Walker advertised a translation of Junius Brutus' *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos* on 25th February (*Perfect Occurrences*), "a peece suitable for the times". Another pamphlet published at this time accused the King and Buckingham of poisoning his father King James (a falsehood repeated by Milton). The Thomason Catalogue shows a number of similar tracts designed to throw obloquy on the King.

On 7th April, 1648, Walker commenced a series of absurd anagrams in his *Perfect Occurrences*. He was still publishing his newsbook under the pseudonym of "Luke Harruney Cleric"; and apparently had been studying Hebrew, for one of the Royalist journals tells us that "Rabby Bungy pott lecturer for the Hebrew at London House" was his teacher or confederate. Parliament was about to decree new articles of religion (on 20th June, 1648), and No. 8 of Chapter I. of these articles ran as follows: "The Old Testament in Hebrew . . . and the New Testament in Greek being immediately inspired by God and by His singular care and providence kept pure in all ages are therefore authenticall". This decree was the cause of a study of Hebrew which bade fair even to beat the great Puritan cult of astrology from the field, and Walker now gave his readers a weekly Hebrew anagram of some leader's name.

He had been hopelessly unable to imitate the leading articles which for a long time past had formed a feature of other newsbooks,[1] and this claptrap device was an instance of real journalistic enterprise which, although it made him the butt of the Royalists, soon had imitators. Advertisements (of which the second appeared in *Perfect Occurrences* on 2nd April, 1647) were also now to be habitually found in his newsbooks.

On 31st March Parliament at last succeeded in finding a new writer in John Hall, a clever young man of twenty-one,

[1] Two particularly absurd attempts of Walker's are as follows: *Perfect Occurrences* No. 19, 7th-14th May, 1647, starts: "Actions of subtle wits, great and eminent are very attractive to the people. If Ulisses returne and declare his wives guests to be Corivals (not so much as to mention Eumæus the swineheard) but will joyne to drive them out. The House of Peers received letters," etc. And No. 65, 24th-31st March, 1648: "Mistakes oft produce sad effects to friends. Had Pyramus been rightly informed of his dear Thisby they had not both been so foolishly slain". (All this is *apropos* of nothing). It is a pity Walker did not live in Shakespeare's days, for Bottom the weaver might have found a companion.

who had had a brilliant career as a writer even at that early age. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and it is to be presumed that Wharton obtained his biography of him from Cleiveland. Wharton had bitterly attacked Lilly in *Elencticus*, and Lilly employed Hall—at a salary of 30s. a week, says Wharton—to write a journal under the name of *Mercurius Brittanicus*. *Mercurius Brittanicus* of 1648, and *Mercurius Censorius*, also written by him, do little honour to Hall's genius, and Berkenhead disgustedly remarks in *Bellicus*: "I wonder that Jack Hall of Cambridge—should so far lose himself as to justify the rebels in a weekly gazet by the name of *Britanicus*."

Hall, however, had sunk very low indeed before he was reduced to this.[1] Expelled from St. John's College for "lewdness" and debauchery, he attacked in the first number of *Brittanicus* the Fellows of the College that had trained him, earning from Wharton the just epithets of "Viper" and "apostate hireling". After his expulsion from St. John's he had married, and, having spent his wife's fortune in dissipation, he sent her back to her father. He then entered himself at Gray's Inn, where he was living at the time of his employment by Lilly, chiefly by the exercise of his wits. Wharton publicly appealed to Lovelace and others living in Gray's Inn, and, as a result they "unkennelled the vermine and made him shift his quarters" to a house of bad repute in Bloomsbury. "Brought in," he says, by Cromwell, Hall was appointed writer for the regicides at a salary of £100 a year on 14th May, 1649, and it is probably to him that *The Nonsuch Charles his Character* and other books entered in the Stationers' Registers "by authority of the Council of State" are due.

[1] *Mercurius Elencticus*, No. 27, 24th-31st May; No. 28, 31st May-7th June; No. 29, 7th-14th June, 1648; and No. 34, 12th-19th July (four pages of biography in the last). Hall replies in *Brittanicus* and *Censorius* of even dates, but makes no attempt whatever to refute or deny the allegations against his character. Cal. S. P. Dom., 1654, p. 163.

Up to the middle of the year 1648 there was no indication of Gilbert Mabbott the licenser's views, and none of his real nature. He then showed himself in his true colours. John Dillingham, the author of the *Moderate Intelligencer*, and evidently a moderate Presbyterian to whom the idea of any personal attack on the King was abhorrent, had obtained a scrap of French from Cotgrave and inserted it in his newsbook. It was "Dieu nous donne les Parlyaments briefe Rois de vie longue".[1] After a time Mabbott had discovered what this meant; and refusing to license Dillingham's copy, he appropriated the title to himself and continued the *Moderate Intelligencer* with the aid of Dillingham's printer, Robert White, under the name of the *Moderate* (No. 171, 23rd-29th June), prefacing it with the deliberate falsehood, "I have laid down my former title of *Moderate Intelligencer*, and do go by another, *viz.*, the *Moderate*".

Dillingham then petitioned the House of Lords for relief, complaining that he was in danger of his life as the supposed writer of the *Moderate*, and Mabbott also petitioned that Dillingham should be punished under the Act of 1647. Robert White, the printer, petitioned as well, asking that the title of *Moderate Intelligencer* might be pronounced his as he had always possessed the "interest right and title in the pamphlet," and it was registered in the Stationers' books as his proper copy. (The *Moderate Intelligencer* was the only periodical registered since the ordinance of 1647.) The House of Lords decided that Dillingham alone was entitled to the title of the *Moderate Intelligencer*, of which White in consequence lost the printing, and Dillingham had his pamphlet printed for the future by Leybourn. Nothing seems to have been done with regard to the French phrase which was the cause of the quarrel, and this is an indication of the growing difference between the Lords and the Commons. The *Moderate*, however, continued to appear on the same days

[1] The *Moderate Intelligencer*, No. 164, 4th-11th May, 1648, p. 1314; *Hist. MSS. Commission*, 7th Report, p. 33 *a*; *ibid.*, p. 53 *b*.

(Thursdays) as the *Moderate Intelligencer*, and with the same numeration, No. 173 for 6th-13th July, containing at the end the remark: "This is the true *Moderate Intelligencer*".

Mabbott seems then to have been ordered to change his day and not to counterfeit the numbering of the original periodical, for the next issue was numbered No. 1 for Tuesdays, 11th-18th July. This he commenced with the remark: "Reader. I am desired by many to change my day from Thursday to Tuesday, because the Kingdom hath much wanted a satisfactory sheet to send that day by post into the severall parts thereof," etc. From this unjust and untruthful statement it is clear that Mabbott desired to attack the *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, also published on Tuesdays, the writer of which was, as has been seen, a staunch defender of his King. The temperate reply of its author goes far to justify the estimate of him already given: "Reader, there was the last week a supernumerary *Moderate Intelligencer* which was extant with this. At his first entrance, the better to cry up his own intelligence, he made it his businesse to cry down this, by which you may discern from what spirit it proceeded. To do an injury and to add detraction to increase it is double discourtesie."

The *Moderate* became known later on as the Levellers' organ, and at the end of this year was the most infamous periodical that had yet appeared. Mabbott not only clamoured for the King's death, but, in the cruel and foul accusations he dared to bring against the King at the time of his death,[1] he exhibits himself as a shameless liar and an ignoble and cowardly wretch, whose ultimate success in life it is not pleasant to record—the more so that he (of all men) was singled out for reward by Charles II.

In September a curious little periodical appeared amongst the crowd of strangely named Royalist Mercuries A Catholic

[1] See the *Moderate*, 30th January to 6th February, 1649, pp. 289, 290. It appears from this number that Dr. Juxon was deprived of a prayer-book when ministering to the King.

priest evidently attempted to put in a word in season with *Mercurius Catholicus, Communicating his Intelligence from the most Learned Protestant Writers to Simple People how they may know which must needs be the True Christian Religion.* The writer was probably Father Thomas Budd, who is to be found as a prisoner in Newgate in the following year, and who remained in prison for four years. His line of argument was an anticipation of Bossuet's *Variations des Églises Protestantes.* It was, of course, not difficult to capture the vendor (probably the writer himself) of a periodical of this kind.

On 10th October one more new writer appeared in the person of John Harris, with *Mercurius Militaris*—an organ written on behalf of the army and also clamouring for the King's death. John Harris—"Oxford Jack"—was originally a poor players' boy of the Company of the Revels at Oxford,[1] who, on the abolition of stage plays, had become a printer, entering into partnership with Henry Hills in Pennifarthing Street, Oxford. Education was easy to obtain in his native town, and Harris had subsequently written pamphlets under the anagrammatic pseudonym of Sirrahniho. He and Hills had then ingratiated themselves with the army, and had carried a printing press about with it.[2]

Mercurius Militaris came to an end on 21st November, and at the time of the King's death John Harris was one of those who stood on the scaffold. His wife did not apparently share his views; but was a Royalist, and after her death, on 31st October, 1649, Wharton wrote an elegy to her memory.[3] Harris, having been a printer to the army, naturally found it easy to obtain the rank of a commissioned officer, a rank which probably few English gentlemen would have accepted

[1] *Mercurius Impartialis*, No. 1, 5th-12th December, 1648; the *Royal Diurnall for King Charles II.*, No. 1, 25th February, 1650; and the *Man in the Moon*, No. 48, 13th-20th March, 1650, p. 374.

[2] For Hills' character see *A View of the—Actions of H. Hills*, etc., 1684.

[3] "In Memory of that Lively Pattern of True Piety and Unstained Loyalty Mrs. Susanna Harris the Vertuous Wife of Capt. John Harris."

in 1648 and 1649, and was afterwards known as Captain and subsequently Major John Harris. In November, 1654, he was convicted of forging Cromwell's signature and seal and of obtaining £900 by it,[1] but he does not seem to have been punished. After the Restoration, on Monday, 3rd September, 1660, he was hanged at St. Mary Axe for theft and burglary. Wharton states that he was also the author of *Mercurius Anti-Mercurius*, which appeared in 1648, and his testimony, as an Oxford townsman, is valuable as to the authorship of *Bellicus* and other periodicals.

In August, 1648, Henry Walker also fell foul of Mabbott. The House of Lords had granted Walker a licence to print his *Occurrences* on 30th June, probably owing to some attempted interference with him on the part of Mabbott at that time, and on 16th August Walker petitioned the House, complaining that Mabbott, in contempt of their order, had sent men to break his printers' presses and told them that he would bear them out. Mabbott, he alleged in his petition, "collected the intelligence of Mondays journal" (*i.e.*, Pecke's *Perfect Diurnall*) "and other sheets of news which was worth much more, and being both writer and licenser had liberty to make use of what he pleased to advance his own writing and to leave out to disparage others. For these reasons, when he licensed under his master John Rushworth the House of Commons put him out."

Walker asked for a confirmation of the Lords' order, and that they would consider whether Mabbott was fit to be continued as licenser.[2] He was thereupon authorised to license his own pamphlet, and subsequently did so in a curious way, by appending the name of "Luke Harruney" (as if licenser) to *Perfect Occurrences*, professing to be "collected by Henry Walker". The year closed with Walker triumphantly

[1] *Mercurius Fumigosus*, No. 26, 22nd-30th November, 1654, pp. 224, 225; also No. 28, 6th-13th December, p. 241. This describes him as "Oxford Jack" and identifies the Harris of military rank with the printer. "The Speech of Major John Harris," etc., 1660.

[2] *Hist. MSS. Commission*, 7th Report, p. 70 *b*.

issuing, besides supplements to his *Occurrences* in the shape of *Packets of Letters*, an additional periodical, called *Heads of a Diarie*, and utilising to the full the journalistic opportunities given him by the attack of the army on the King and Parliament. He also published *Collections of Notes at the Kings Tryall*. These are to be identified by the name of his printer, Ibbitson.

CHAPTER VII.

1649.

It might have seemed probable that one result of the occupation of London by the army in December, 1648, would have been the total suppression of the Royalist Mercuries. Such, however was not the case. Obviously beaten from pillar to post, they still contrived to "hang out their flag of defiance," though one of the first things General Fairfax did was to turn his attention to them. On 9th January, 1649, he issued a warrant, printed and published, to Captain Richard Laurence, Provost-Marshal-General of the Army, setting out the Ordinance of 28th September, 1647, the House of Commons Licensing Order of 14th June, 1643, and the Act of the City Common Council dated 9th October, 1643, and directing the provost-marshal to put them all into execution. The Levellers on 19th January presented their petition against the warrant and in favour of unlicensed printing, but no concession was made. The result of this warrant was that bands of soldiers broke into houses, sometimes with forged warrants, robbing and stealing right and left,[1] and brought such opprobrium upon Captain Laurence that he eventually refused to act any longer. Henry Walker in his *Perfect Occurrences* for 6th April makes the following not particularly honest comment on the fact:—

[1] *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, No. 45, 13th-20th February, 1649; *Perfect Occurrences*, No. 118, 30th March to 6th April, 1649, pp. 922, 923, 931 and 933. References to the outrages committed by soldiers are numerous and continuous in all the newsbooks. On 13th February, 1648/9, Fairfax issued a proclamation against his soldiers demanding money by threats and seizing people without warrants (669, f. 13 (88)).

"The Marshall Generall seeing that some who were imployed by him were put upon such things as tended rather to private men's interests rather than to a publique good acquainted the Lord Generall therewith and desired of his Excellency that he might be discharged of the businesse about printing, for the man is so gallant, that what tends to a common good, he will ingage the last interest he is able but not to prejudice the publique for any man's relations. The generall hath granted his desire so that if any pretend to act in the business concerning printing as under the Marshall generall they have no authority from him to do it."

At the same time the order to the army against unlicensed books was suspended, "thinking thereby to catch the authors," says *Pragmaticus*, but "hould a blow some are wiser than some. That scarlet cut-throat and scelestic Regicide Bradshaw I hear hath desired to have the managing of that businesse and will take some such new course as was never taken yet."[1]

The course taken was the passing of the "Treason" Act on 14th May, confirmed by the Coining Act of 17th July, and aimed directly at the Royalists and the Royalist Mercuries. This Act provided that "if any person should maliciously or advisedly publish by *writing*, *printing* or *openly declaring*" that the "Commonwealth" was "*tyrannical*, *usurped*, or *unlawful*" or that "the Commons in Parliament assembled were not the supreme authority of the nation," he should be guilty of high treason. Hanging, drawing and quartering were thus threatened the Royalist writers, who were not slow in replying to the Act. One and all copied and parodied its provisions in set terms, for the express purpose of committing the "crime" which it set up, and that in the most offensive manner possible.[2]

[1] *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, No. 49, 3rd-10th April, 1649.

[2] "I . . . advisedly and sincerely from my heart openly declare and protest before men and angels that the present government (by the power of the sword) is tyrannical usurped and unlawful. And that the present juncto of Traytors and Regicids who falsely call themselves a Parliament

At the same time the number of Mercuries increased, and quite a quantity of counterfeits of *Pragmaticus* and *Elencticus* sprang into existence.

In the meantime, on 16th April, one new Royalist periodical of importance had made its appearance, called *The Man in the Moon, Discovering a World of Knavery under the Sunne*, the writer of which, John Crouch, the printer,[1] was the last of all to be caught and suppressed. The *Man in the Moon* was a coarse and vulgar but an amusing and witty periodical, and the English in which it was written was occasionally archaic even for those times. It catered for a lower class than those for whom *Pragmaticus* and *Elencticus* were written, and took the place of *Melancholicus*, which definitely came to an end about the middle of the year. On 4th May a new *Mercurius Britannicus*, written by Gilbert Mabbott, made its appearance, but only lasted for a month.[2]

A return was then made to the system of civil Provost-Marshals. Provost-Marshal Zachary Bishop, appointed on 6th June, 1649, for the North side of the Thames (Provost-Marshal Munk was appointed for the South), had a commission for one year, and was allowed £100 a year and twelve assistants at twelve pence a day each; and he was to have more men if he required them.[3] He and his men were not popular;

are not the supream authority but the very offal of the Nation being composed 'ex colluvie gentis' of the very drosse and dreggs thereof. And that therefore I will by the help of God and as in duty bound by all means I can possible raise forces for the speedy and effectual destruction . . . of those tyrants who call themselves the keepers of the liberty of England and the Councell of State and to make the 'Saints' of the Army cut one anothers throats (to save us the trouble)," etc. (*Mercurius Elencticus*, 14th-21st May, 1649).

[1] Crouch was ultimately in partnership with Thomas Wilson as printers in Three Fox Court, Long Lane. As to his authorship, see the *Weepers; Mercurius Pragmaticus*, No. 3, 1st-8th June, 1652; also the *Faithfull Scout*, No. 65, 9th-16th April, 1652.

[2] *Mercurius Pragmaticus for King Charles II.*, No. 4, 8th-15th May, 1649.

[3] *Perfect Occurrences*, No. 126, 25th May to 1st June, p. 1051; and *ibid.*, No. 127, 1st-8th June, p. 1050; *Man in the Moon*, No. 9, 5th-13th June, 1649.

when the soldiers were not at hand, and the people outnumbered the "beagles," the latter were often cudgelled if they arrested Mercuries caught selling Royalist newsbooks, and the poor women were rescued. It is on record that, Alderman Atkins having given a Mercury woman into the custody of the city marshal and his assistants, on suspicion of selling Royalist newsbooks, a crowd assembled, and rescued the woman—this was in the Exchange itself—put the provost-marshal and his assistants to flight, hustled the alderman, "tore his ruff," and assailed him with opprobrious epithets.[1] A "Committee of Discovery" was also set up at the beginning of June.

At the commencement of 1649 Dr. Hackluyt had been recaptured and imprisoned in Peterhouse. This time he did not succeed in making his escape. A great amount of comradeship existed amongst the Cavaliers in Peterhouse Prison, share and share alike being the rule, and Hackluyt, as one that had written for the King, was admitted to participate in the the help they received. After fifteen weeks' imprisonment, however, he tired of this, and determined to recant and offer his services to the Regicides. Accordingly he commenced a new periodical which he entitled the *Metropolitan Nuncio*.

The title was a strange one for him to choose, and, one would think, too suggestive of popery to be successful. This remarkable periodical, written in prison to curry favour with the Regicides, actually attempted to betray Cleiveland, Sheppard and John Taylor. The Mercury woman he employed to sell it objected so much to the title, that she changed the name of the first number to *Mercurius Militaris* (22nd-29th May) before taking it to the printer. The *Metropolitan Nuncio* then had a short career of two numbers; it

[1] *Perfect Occurrences*, No. 126, 25th May to 1st June, 1649; *Mercurius Pragmaticus for King Charles II.*, 5th-12th June; and *Mercurius Verax*, No. 1, 4th June, 1649. Atkins was the subject of jests which can not be repeated. His name became an exclamation for street boys.

quotes with approval Milton's "Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce" as "having good tenents".

In the meantime Hackluyt drew up a petition to a Mr. Whitaker, to be presented by him to the Council of State. In this he begged for pardon in a "most slavish creeping style," and stated that he was "daily abused and insulted by a crew of Heathenish Cavaliers, though prisoners, representing your petitioner as a spie sent by the Parliament to inform against them, whilst themselves dayly infect the very aire with their horrid blasphemies". Unfortunately for him his petition was discovered behind his bed, read by his fellow-prisoners, and subsequently published in full by John Taylor,[1] and the "bag and basket" henceforth became his sole source of supply. He is never heard of again.

John Taylor, denounced by Hackluyt as the then writer of *Melancholicus*, prudently left London on 21st June on his journey to see the "Wonders of the West," which he afterwards wrote about, and from this time *Mercurius Melancholicus* definitely came to an end. He says the journey "was nothing to me being a youth of three score and ten, with a lame leg and a half—and there is an end of the Story".

On 4th August he was back in London, and on 15th August was arrested at his famous tavern the "King's Head" a sign which he had to change to the "Poet's Head"—his own head—in Phœnix Alley, Long Acre (now the "Ship," in Hanover Court). He was afterwards released; died at his house at the end of the year 1653, and was buried on 5th December in the churchyard of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. Nothing is known of Martin Parker after this date, and he may have died in prison.

Bradshaw, unscrupulous as he was, was nevertheless a lawyer, and, as head of the Council of State, naturally had a predilection for the forms of law, so a number of warrants for the arrest of Royalists now appear in the State Papers. About the

[1] *Mercurius Melancholicus for King Charles II.*, No. 3, 31st. May to 7th June, 1649; *Mercurius Elencticus*, No. 9, 18th-25th June, 1649.

12th of March Wharton was again captured and committed to Newgate. He had so openly announced his intention of compassing Bradshaw's death, that it might be expected that he at least would have been put to death. On the 12th of August, however, he once more escaped, and, more truculent than ever, resumed the writing of *Elencticus*, which in the interval had been carried on by Sheppard, who attached his motto "Quis me impune lacessit" to the periodical.

On the 15th of June, 1649, a warrant was issued for the arrest of Marchamont Nedham, who was captured and committed to Newgate. He made his escape, and another warrant, directed to the Keeper of Newgate, on the 14th of August, resulted in his final capture. Eager as the Council of State were to obtain writers to defend them, there could be but little doubt of the result once they had Nedham safely in hold. Bradshaw treated him fairly, Anthony à Wood tells us, and as Milton, according to the same authority, afterwards became his "crony," it was not long before he once more changed his opinions, took the engagement to be faithful to the Commonwealth, and, when released on the 14th of November, definitely engaged himself to write for the very Regicides he had so bitterly reviled. History has no personage to chronicle so shamelessly cynical as Marchamont Nedham, with his powerful pen and his political convictions ever ready to be enlisted on the side of the highest bidder. He even wrote for Charles II. in later years.

On the 16th of April, 1649, a warrant was issued for the arrest of Sheppard as author and William Wright as printer of *Elencticus;* but it seems as if Sheppard also escaped, for another warrant for his arrest was issued on the 29th of May. He owed his final release (in May, 1650) to John Thurloe, who ultimately became Cromwell's Secretary of State.

Leaving the Royalist Mercuries for the moment, and returning to the licensed newsbooks, we find Mabbott at the commencement of the year 1649 an avowed Leveller with his organ the *Moderate* under suspicion. On the 19th of January

the Lords ordered that Henry Whaley, Colonel and Advocate-General of the Army, and Theodore Jennings, or any one of them, should be joined with Mabbott to license pamphlets and books of news. In the result Theodore Jennings, messenger and general factotum to the Council of State,[1] and, from a literary point of view, hopelessly unqualified for his post, did the bulk of the work. To him may be attributed the periodical entitled *A Perfect Summary*, or, *A Perfect Collection, of Exact Passages*, commenced on 29th January, on Mondays, in opposition to Pecke's *Perfect Diurnall*. Walker was also opposed by *The Kingdomes Faithfull Scout*, written by Border, and a great deal of characteristic quarrelling between the two periodicals was the result. Border at first attempted to imitate Walker's Hebrew, to the latter's disgust; and afterwards confining himself to Greek, vaunted the supremacy of that language as a source of religion and philosophy.

The Levellers had been in open insurrection, and the Council of State was doing its best to suppress them. On 7th May the Council appointed a committee to examine Mabbott as to his having licensed a pamphlet called the *Agreement of the People*, a pamphlet of Lilburne's reissued by him on 1st May, and others, and directed Sir Henry Mildmay to inform the House of Commons that, as divers dangerous books and pamphlets had been printed with his license, he should be discharged of his trust and care be taken to suppress such books and pamphlets—especially that known as the *Moderate*.[2] On 22nd May accordingly Mabbott was discharged, and the preparation of a new Act for the regulation of the press ordered to be taken in hand.[3] They do not, however, seem to have dared to entirely suppress the *Moderate*, henceforth licensed by Jennings, until the month of September, so dangerous had the Levellers become.

[1] The references to him in the Calendars of State Papers are numerous.

[2] Cal. State Papers Dom., 1649-50, p. 127.

[3] Commons Journals, 22nd May, 1649.

An effort was now made to conciliate Mabbott, who by this time had become convinced that licensing was a mistake, since it stopped the publication of his own views, by pretending that he had desired to be relieved of his office owing to conscientious scruples. Border in the *Kingdomes Faithfull Scout* writes: "Mr. Mabbott hath long desired severall members of the House and lately the Counsell of State to move the house that he might be discharged of licensing books for the future for the reasons following *viz.*, 1. Because many thousands of scandalous and malignant pamphlets have been published with his name thereunto as if he had licensed the same, though he never saw them, on purpose as he conceives to prejudice him in his reputation among the honest party of the nation. 2. Because that employment as he conceives is unjust and illegal as to the end of its first institution *viz.*, to stop the presse from publishing anything that might discover the corruption of church and State in the time of Popery Episcopacy and tyranny, the better to keep the people in ignorance and carry on their Popish, Factious, Traitorous and Tyrannical designs for the enslaving and destruction both of the bodies and souls of all the free people of this nation. 3. Because licensing is as great a monopoly as ever was in this nation in that all men's judgments reasons etc., are to be bound up in the licensers (as to Licensing) for if the author of any sheet, book, or treatise write not to please the fancie and come within the compass of the licensers judgment, then he is not to receive any stamp of authority for publishing thereof. 4. Because it is lawful in his judgment to print any book sheet etc., without licensing, so as the authors and printers do subscribe their names thereunto that so they may be liable to answer the contents thereof, and if they offend therein, then to be punished by such laws as are or shall be for those cases provided. A committee of the Councell of State, being satisfied with these and other reasons of Mr. Mabbott's concerning licensing, the Council of State report to the House upon which the House ordered this day that the said Mr.

Mabbott should be discharged of licensing books for the future." [1]

It is easy to be wise after the event, and, if Mabbott had enunciated these views a year or two previously, he might have been hailed as a champion of the liberty of the press. As it is, his theories clearly were invented to "save his face," and to set against this there is the Council of State's own note of what really took place.

A week later Henry Walker, the enemy of both Mabbott and Border, the author of the *Scout*, replied: "I am desired to insert here something in behalf of Mr. Whaley Judge advocate to the Army whose name was last week printed to not only malignant lyes of newes from beyond the seas in the pamphlet called the *Weekly Scout*, but of his imprimatur to some ridiculous vaine absurd proposition therein in the name of Mr. Mabbott as that Licensing is a monopoly, and his judgment to be delivered to the Council of State that everyone may print what he list and the like. For my own part I dare say Mr. Mabbott hath had £100 of me and my acquaintance first and last for licensing, and it is the custome of all countries, and those things were never so much as showed to the judge advocate who hath made complaint to the Councell of State about it." [2]

Walker, who, as John Crouch amusingly remarks, "constantly rubbed his face with a brasse candlestick to justify the unjustest of his actions," then succeeded in inducing Theodore Jennings to prohibit the *Scout's* appearance.

On 15th June the *Scout* appeared with an exposure of Walker: "the said Walkers *Occurrences* are stuft up with abundance of fallacious passages etc., and he formerly was ashamed to subscribe his name thereunto, but instead thereof gave it this badge or Cloak to cover his knavery—collected

[1] *The Kingdomes Faithfull and Impartiall Scout*, No. 16, 25th May to 1st June, 1649, p. 143. It will be noticed that all this is from the *Areopagitica*.

[2] *Perfect Occurrences*, No. 127, 1st-8th June, 1649, p. 1051.

by Luke Harruney cleric . . . he is not H. Walker cleric, but Henry Walker the quondam ironmonger". This was written by Wood, the publisher of the *Scout*, Border having been frightened out of the field.

Perfect Occurrences for 22nd June contained the following note at the end:—

"I desire all people to take notice that I denie to give any authority to a Pamphlet called the *Kingdomes Weekly Scout* because the Commonwealth hath been so extremely abused by it by Rob. Wood of Grub Street who contrives false inventions at an ale house to adde to it what he fancies as news after Mr. Border the author hath write it and the Licenser perused it, and thus he hath abused the Judges advocate and my selfe and the Commonwealth, and the author who did it formerly doth now disclaim it, refusing any more to write it for him and if he be so impudent as still to publish it I desire all those whom it concerns to suppress it that the people may not be cheated by it.

"Imprimatur, Theo. Jennings."

Wood, who must have been a Presbyterian, replying on 26th June, addressed Walker as:—

"That invective apostate Luke Harruney alias Henry Walker; who (to accomplish his own self interests and by ends) takes upon him the impudence to carry on his design with the Lord President and Counsell of State under this notion or shadow 'That this sheete takes its derivation from the sinewes of malignancy'. In consideration whereof I here make my appeal to all rationall and judiciall men freely laying myself open to their favourable construction there being not anything contained therein destructive or prejudiciall to the present Government or authority. Therefore Sirrah know that a'though I cannot nor will not lye by thee, yet I am resolved to live and stand near thee and instead of draining out such an unsavoury and poysoned fountain at Westmin.—thy present habitation—or going to Hell and purgatory (thy

Numb: :

Fol: 1:

23 *July* 1649:

Imprimatur, *Theo: Jennings:*

A Tueſdaies Journall

of Perfect Paſſages IN PARLIAMENT.

Proceedings of the Councell of State: And other MODERATE INTELLIGENCE.

From His Excellency the Lord Generall *Fairfaxes* Army, and other parts.
From Tueſday 17 *July* to Tueſday *July* 24. 1649.
Collected by *Henry VValker* Cleric.

Printed at *London* for *Robert Ibbitſon* dwelling in Smithfield, 1649.

Beginning Tueſday 17 July.

And the Gold of that Land is good, Gen. 2. 12. והזהב הארץ ההוא טוב

This was part of the deſcription of the Garden of *Eden*, as to the praiſe of it.

An Act paſſed touching the Monies and Coynes of *ENGLAND.*

The Twenty ſhillings 10 s. and 5 s. pieces of Gold, ſtamped on the one ſide with the Croſſe, and a Palm and Lawrel, with theſe words, The Commonwealth of ENGLAND; and on the other ſide with the Croſſe and Harp, with theſe words, God with us: And for Silver monies, pieces of Five ſhillings, and pieces of Two ſhillings and ſix pence; and pieces of Twelve pence, and pieces of ſix pence, having the ſame Words, Inſcriptions, Pictures and Arms on each ſide as the former; Alſo pieces of Two pence, and One peny, having the ſame Pictures and Arms as the former, without any Words or Inſcriptions; and the Half peny having on the

future and meritorious sanctuary) I shall apply myself to such members of the army, from whence proceeds the most true and certain intelligence, and know that if thou dost not speedily desist from thy selfish and base actions I shall present unto thee an object of terrour and repentance and deprive thee of Dick Brandon's place, the late Hang-man which thou hast so earnestly importuned and solicited for to bestow upon a friend of thy own, provided thou mayst have half shares with him in all the dayes of his execution. O Pure Villain. Hast thou not had trades enough already, but thou must still claim interest in one more? Is it not apparent that thou hast been a decayed ironmonger, a petty fogging bookseller, a fantasticall Hackler, a schismatical conventicler, and a most impudent lying and deceitful newsmonger both against State and Commonwealth, by which means thou hast defrauded the people of many hundred pounds and hast turned thy threedbare coat to garments of silk and satins. But the time may come when thou shalt pay for all notwithstanding thy late impudency in saying, That if thy beagles could but once catch me, thou wouldst fasten on and bite me, and that I should lie under restraint a fortnight or three weeks before I should come to a hearing."

He then sets out his petition to Bradshaw. In the result, and in spite of a warrant having been issued for his arrest, he gained his desire; but Walker was allowed to publish another newsbook on Tuesdays, entitled *Tuesdaies Journall*, in addition to his Friday's newsbook which was reduced to half its size.

The great desire of Henry Walker's heart was gratified in August, and his services to the Independent cause were recognised by his being beneficed. On 15th July he preached at the King's Chapel, Whitehall, what was evidently a trial sermon, the printed copy of which is full of Hebrew quotations, and chose with his usual infelicity the admirably appropriate text "Beware of false prophets". He was given a

living at Uxbridge, within a convenient distance of London, and did not stop the publication of his newsbooks.[1]

By the end of September, 1649, the measures taken against the Levellers had been so far successful, that the Act of Parliament decided upon by the Commons on 22nd May was passed, entitled "An Act against unlicensed and scandalous books and pamphlets and for the better regulation of Printing". It was dated 20th September, and was directed against "Scandalous seditious and libellous pamphlets, papers and pictures" (of which it gave no definition). The newsbooks were also affected by it, though they were not its main object.

In this the Levellers' petition of 19th January for the liberty of unlicensed printing was answered—

1. By the order that all existing Acts and ordinances were to be put into execution.

2. By the increase of all the penalties—for "Scandalous seditious and libellous," etc., books and pamphlets; the following fines were imposed:—

(*a*) On the author £10 or 40 days' imprisonment.

(*b*) On the printer £5 or 20 days' imprisonment.

(*c*) On the bookseller £2 or 10 days' imprisonment.

(*d*) On the buyer £1 if he did not within 24 hours bring any such document to the mayor or a justice of the peace and disclose the vendor.

3. These penalties were also to apply to unlicensed news-

[1] Crouch's comment is "That pillory earwigge Walker is benefic'd (some say) about Uxbridge. . . . Be it known to the parish where he teacheth, That he is a ravening wolfe an impudent lyar—and a cheat, and if ye have no better pastor than Judas, the whole parish are more liker to be cuckolds than converts. If upon sight hereof you kick him not out of the church the next Sunday after or the Wednesday following the Man in the Moon will send his blessing into the whole parish. What! Must such rogues preach and orthodox learned divines perish for want of food. O tempus! O mores!" (*Man in the Moon*, 30th August to 5th September, 1649.) As a result of this he really seems to have been driven out of the parish. He appears to have been occasionally mobbed by the boys in the streets (*Colchester Spie*, No. 2, 10th-17th August, 1648).

books, all existing licences to which were revoked, and three new licensers of newsbooks were appointed :—

(*a*) The Clerk of the Parliament.

(*b*) Such person as should be authorised by the Council of State.

(*c*) For so much as might concern the affairs of the Army, the Secretary of the Army.

This Act lasted for two years only, and expired on Michaelmas Day, 1651.

As this is one of the most oppressive of all English legal enactments against the press, so also it is one of the lengthiest. Two other sections must be noticed as affecting the newsbooks. Every printer was to enter into a bond, with two sureties in the sum of £300 by 1st October, that he would not print anything "scandalous, treasonable," etc., against the Government. Finally all hawkers, mercuries and ballad singers (as such) were to be at once arrested, to have their stock taken from them, and to be sent to the House of Correction to be whipped.

One measure that the Act did *not* contemplate was the total suppression of licensed newsbooks: and it is necessary to emphasise this in view of what followed. Strict as the censorship of books had been hitherto, they were licensed now with a rigour that had never been experienced before. As the entries in the Stationers' Registers abundantly prove, the Council of State became censors. The *Man in the Moon* on 26th September exclaims: "This is liberty! Where be the bishops now? Who stops the mouth of the Press now? This is no tyranny, no persecution. No! Liberty, Mercy, Propriety, Justice! Now must truth seek new corners, the beagles are on the scent already."

The day after the Act was passed (on 21st September) the following entry occurs in the Council of State's books: "Ordered that Mr. Frost shall be the person whom the Councell of State doth authorise to *publish*" (*i.e.*, to write) "intelligence every week upon Thursday according to an

Act of Parliament for that purpose".[1] Frost was the Secretary to the Council of State, and, as he was also spy-master and manager of the "committee-hackneys" employed to hunt down the Royalists, it is quite evident that he would have had little time to spare for licensing the press had the Council of State decided to appoint any one person as a licenser. They did not, however, come to such a decision, and Frost was not appointed licenser.

The new Act came into force on the 1st of October, and by the 12th of October, without any special order for the purpose, every one of the newsbooks had been swept out of existence. The whole licensed press was thus abolished, and remained suppressed until the middle of the following year—1650. For the licensed newsbooks were substituted two official journals; and the oligarchy ruling England "by the power of the sword" themselves turned newsmongers, a fact in itself sufficient to justify suspicion of the journals they published.

On *Tuesday* (Frost had been authorised to publish intelligence every *Thursday*), 2nd October, and every subsequent Tuesday, the first number of *A Brief Relation* appeared, bearing the mark "Published by authority". The second number (9th October) was marked "Licensed by Gualter Frost Esquire secretary to the Council of State according to the direction of the late Act".

On 9th October appeared a second periodical, entitled *Severall Proceedings in Parliament*, which stated that it was "Licensed by the Clerk of the Parliament," at that time Henry Scobell. The first three numbers of this also appeared on Tuesdays, indicating some confusion in the arrangements; but the fourth and succeeding numbers appeared on Fridays.

For the licensed newsbooks, therefore, one and sometimes more of which had appeared every day,[2] were substituted

[1] S. P. Dom., Interregnum, I. 63, p. 95.

[2] The last dates of appearance of the newsbooks in the Thomason Collection are as follows: the *Impartiall Intelligencer*, 19th September; the

two official periodicals. Of these, one, as it was concerned during this year chiefly with parliamentary proceedings and written by its "licenser" Scobell, need not further be noticed; the other, giving all the news from Ireland and outside London, was of course written, as the Council of State's direction shows, by its secretary Frost. A third periodical appeared on 17th December, and every Monday after, and was entitled *A Perfect Diurnall of some Passages and Proceedings of and in Relation to the Armies*, and was licensed by John Rushworth, who then described himself as Secretary to the Army. It should be noticed that the title of this periodical was not the same as that of Pecke's *Perfect Diurnall of the Passages of Parliament.*

The licensed press, as already stated, remained suppressed until the end of June, 1650, and nothing but the three periodicals mentioned appeared during the interval. The Royalist Mercuries now become exceedingly valuable, not only as confirming this but for the light they throw upon its cause. "No *Perfect Diurnall*, no *Moderate*, no *Weekly Intelligencer*, no *Weekly Account*, no *Moderate Intelligencer*, no *Occurrences*, no *Faithfull Scout*, no *Modest Narrative*, all wafted away by the breath of Jack Bradshaw and only *A Briefe Relation of some Affaires and Transactions Civill and Military, Forraigne and Domestique* tolerated. And that licensed by Long Gualter, secretary to the Councill of Coxcombs," writes *Mercurius Elencticus* (No. 25, for 15th-22nd October, 1649) in surprise, and the *Man in the Moon* (No. 26, for 17th-24th October, 1649) comments in a similar strain upon the writers.

Modest Narrative, 22nd September; the *Moderate Messenger*, 24th September; and the *Moderate*, 25th September. These may all be taken, therefore, as written more or less in the Levellers' interests. The remainder which survived the Act (which came into operation on 1st October) were: *A Perfect Summary*, 1st October; the *Moderate Intelligencer*, 4th October; the *Perfect Diurnall*, 8th October; the *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer*, 9th October; the *Perfect Weekly Account*, 10th October; and *Perfect Occurrences*, and the *Kingdomes Faithfull and Impartiall Scout*, 12th October.

Elencticus declares he will find out the writer of the all-important periodical *A Brief Relation*, evidently suspecting Nedham, and in No. 27, for 29th October to 5th November, tells us, "I have at length upon diligent inquiry found out the scribbler of the *Brief Relation*, who is not (as once I was told) one of our owne party, but even Long Gualter himself who is both author and licenser for he puts it licensed by Gualter Frost (the quondam manciple of St. John's in Cambridge if I bee not deceived) who before he writ himselfe esquire, wrote two almanacks every yeare, one in his owne name the other in the same anagramatiz'd 'Stroff' for which hee had four pounds yeerly from the Company of Stationers but left of that employment so soon as he found a more profitable in the service of the rebels which he hath enjoyed ever since the beginning of the first warre."

The only mistake in this account is, that Walter Frost was servant at Emmanuel College, not St. John's,[1] and after coming to London had been sword-bearer to the Lord Mayor before entering the rebels' service. The Calendars of State Papers contain numerous entries which show that he had been engaged, in one capacity or another, since the year 1643, in looking after the intelligencers or spies. The Royalist Mercuries all along furnish a running commentary on the people he employed, and chronicle the fates of thieves and coiners like Thomas Verney, Rud, Mathews, Holt and others with an evident sincerity which leaves no doubt of its absolute accuracy (a typical example is the scion of a noble house like Verney).

Walter Frost, ex-menial servant, masquerading with a Latinised Christian name and the title of "Esquire," and posing as licenser of a journal which he himself wrote, does not inspire confidence in his periodical *A Brief Relation;* and the extremely sinister fact that this periodical and its supplements are the only official accounts of the admittedly appal-

[1] George Atwell, *The Faithful Surveyor*, 1662, p. 81. Almanacs by W. Strof and W. Frost are in existence for 1626 and 1627.

ling slaughter committed by Cromwell in Ireland during the months of September and October, 1649, at the taking of Drogheda and Wexford, enhances the importance of the total suppression of the licensed press in its bearing upon the question of how far Cromwell's massacres extended. If he took the towns by deliberate treachery, and also indiscriminately slaughtered defenceless men, women and children, the only estimate of him which can be made must be entirely destructive of the favourable one which has been drawn up in later years with such laborious efforts. Furthermore, the sudden and total suppression of the licensed press strongly justifies the statement that material facts *were* concealed, and gives an adequate reason for the sharp discrepancy between Frost's accounts and the terrible stories of slaughter of defenceless women and unarmed men which all other authorities, without exception, recount.

After the Act of 20th September, all the newsbooks which appeared were licensed, prior to their suppression, by Richard Hatter as Secretary to the Army. Yet on 2nd October, the Council of State wrote to Sir John Wollaston, stating that they did not "know him to be secretary to the army and if he were he hath no power to licence anything but those of the Army".[1] Six days after this letter he was, nevertheless, still licensing, and on 8th October the last number of Pecke's *Perfect Diurnall* appeared. This distinctly states that treachery was used at the surrender of Drogheda, asserting that the governor was "*persuaded*" to surrender and "to go into the windmill on the top of the mount and as many more of the chiefest of them as it could contain, where they were disarmed *and afterwards all slain*". It also contains an account of the slaughter of the people in the church, that is unarmed townsfolk, for mass had been said there the previous Sunday.

[1] This was not correct. *Cf.* "A Declaration of the Proceedings of his Excellency the Lord General Fairfax," etc. "Appointed by his Excellency and his Councell of War to be printed and published and signed by their order May 22, 1649. *Richard Hatter Secr.*" (E. 556 (1)). Rushworth was evidently Cromwell's nominee.

Samuel Pecke was never again permitted to have a newsbook of his own; and was only employed as Rushworth's subauthor, on the institution of the latter's *Perfect Diurnal . . . of the Armies*. When, on the revival of the licensed newsbooks in 1650, he attempted also to revive his *Perfect Diurnall of some Passages in Parliament*, it appears to have been at once suppressed, and for the rest of his career he was Rushworth's deputy.

On 8th January, 1650, the Council of State paid Thomas Waring the large sum of £100 for "compiling a book of the bloody massacres in Ireland,"[1] and from this retelling of the old tale of 1641 it is evident they felt the necessity of justifying their own butcheries. On 3rd October, 1649, they published *A Declaration of the Parliament of England in vindication of their Proceedings*, etc., which can only be described as outrageous under the circumstances.

On 5th November, 1649, the last number of *Mercurius Elencticus* appeared, and on 21st November Wharton was recaptured and committed to the Gatehouse at Westminster. Wharton had been so thorough-going and consistent an enemy of Bradshaw, calling him a rogue and a thief, exposing his perjury in taking the serjeants' oath (on 12th October, 1648), and announcing his own intention of killing him on sight and urging others to do the same, that the latter was determined to hang him; which he easily could have done under the Treason Act. It is pleasant to record of Wharton's old enemy Lilly, the astrologer, that, on the solicitation of Elias Ashmole, the antiquary, he became with Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke the means of obtaining Wharton's freedom in the autumn of 1650. His own account of it was: "During Bradshaw's being President of the Council of State it was my happiness to procure Captain Wharton his liberty, which

[1] Thomas Waring published *A Brief Narrative*, etc., on 19th March, 1650, in which he states that a large volume of "depositions" was getting ready. Major Waring, "son of the old cash-keeper Waring"; brother-in-law to Major Salway, and Cromwell's sheriff in Shropshire, was committed to Black Rod in 1660 (*Mercurius Publicus*, July 12-19).

when Bradshaw understood said 'I will be an enemy to Lilly, if ever he come before me'. Sir Bolstrode Whitelocke broke the ice first of all on behalf of Capt. Wharton, after him the Committee unto whom his offence had been committed spoke for him, and said he might well be bailed and enlarged. I had spoken to the committee the morning of his delivery who thereupon were so civil to him, especially Sir William Ermin" (Armine) "of Lincolnshire, but upon my humble request my long continued antagonist was enlarged and had his liberty."

George Wharton made his public acknowledgments to Lilly in his almanac for 1651, and was befriended by Ashmole until the Restoration, when he was appointed treasurer and paymaster to the office of the Royal Ordnance. He continued to publish almanacs (and bad verse), and was created a baronet in 1677. He died at his home in Enfield, in August, 1681, and was buried in the chapel of the Tower of London. At the end of the year 1649 *Mercurius Pragmaticus for King Charles II.* and the *Man in the Moon* were the only Royalist periodicals in existence.

The Massacres of Drogheda and Wexford. In addition to the documents set out in Gilbert's *Contemporary History of Ireland*, vol. ii., the Appendix to Lingard, and the account in Anthony à Wood's "Life" in the *Athenæ Oxonienses* (vol. i., p. xx.), the Royalist Mercuries are valuable as showing the steps taken to suppress private letters. *Elencticus* prints two or three letters from a correspondent in Dublin.

Hugh Peters, who sent the first account of the taking of Drogheda to Henry Walker (note to p. 77), was Colonel of a regiment of foot at the time (*Man in the Moon*, No. 25, 10th to 17th Oct., 1649, and John Endecote to John Winthrop, 28th April, 1650, in the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, vol. vi., p. 153). Earlier in the year Peters was out of his mind (*Mercurius Elencticus*, No. 9, 18th to 25th June, 1649). He was mad again in 1656 (Clarke Papers, vol. iii., p. 66).

The following letter from Mr. Buck to Ralph Verney shows Cromwell's conduct in the worst possible light:—

"Your brother and my deare friend, Sir Edmund Varny, who behaved himself with the greatest gallentry that could be—he was slaine at Drahoda, *three dayes after quarter was given him*, as he was walkinge wth Crumwell by way of protection. One Ropier, who is brother to the Lord

Ropier, caled him aside in a pretence to speak wth him, beinge formerly of acquaintance, and insteade of some frendly office wch Sir Ed. might expect from him, he barberously rann him throw wth a tuck, but I am confident to see this act once highly revenged. The *next day after*, one L^t^. Col. Boyle, who had quarter likewise given him, as he was at dinner wth my Lady More, sister to the Earle of Sunderland, in the same Towne, one of Crumwell's souldiers came and whispred him in the eare, to tell him he must presently be put to deth, who risinge from the table, the lady aske him whither he was goeinge, he answered, 'Madam to dye,' who noe sooner steped out of the roome but hee was shott to deth. These are cruelties of those traitors, who noe doubt will finde the like mercie when they stand in neede of it" (*Memoirs of the Verney Family during the Civil War*, by Lady F. P. Verney, vol. ii., pp. 344-345).

"A Mixt Poem" (1660) by John Crouch (who was not Crouch the journalist) has the following :—

> "But where is Cromwell, once so gay and brave
> Thief of three kingdoms, now not worth a grave
> Where's that prodigious Camel whose strong back
> Carried three nations treasure for its pack
> That Crocodile, that murtherer of Souls
> The whale that shov'd men out o'th world by shoals
> Whose rage spar'd no degree, no sex, whose pride
> Would nothing that opposed it, abide.
> Ask poor Tredah the number of her slain
> Whose streets had only silence to complain
> Where piles on piles of dead, wide breaches fill'd
> Which cool blood butcher'd, and wild fury kill'd
> One person (he a priest *) the storm did passe
> *To tell how kind the Sacrificer was.*"

* "Dr. Bernard" (Crouch's note at the side). Dr. Nicholas Bernard was preacher at Gray's Inn, Cromwell's chaplain, and took sides in a controversy against Heylin. These facts render it clear that this Irish Protestant was neither an impartial, nor (as the last line of the quotation hints) a truthful witness as to what took place at Drogheda.

CHAPTER VIII.

1650-59.

In 1650 only two new Royalist periodicals appeared, the *Royal Diurnall* (*for King Charles II.*) and the misspelt *Mercurius Elenticus* (*for King Charles II.*); and since *Mercurius Pragmaticus* asserts that the "States" were setting their "Rusty nuncio Walker to fly the newes again through the Kingdom as he hath done once or twice before," Walker must have been acting for Scobell as "author" of *Severall Proceedings*. He appears to have filled this rôle henceforth until the extinction of that newsbook in 1655. Pecke at the same time acted as John Rushworth's "author,"[1] and possibly Frost may have employed Dillingham or Border, but there is no evidence of this. The *Brief Relation* came to an end on 22nd October, 1650.

Walker, after leaving Uxbridge, had been appointed to a living in Wood Street, Cheapside, as compensation for the loss of *Perfect Occurrences*, but had been no more a success there than he was at Uxbridge, and had been "kicked out of both" parishes, so that it was necessary for him to continue his journalism. Yet a third piece of preferment fell to him in 1650, for he was appointed pastor at Knightsbridge, and, though the inhabitants of that unfortunate hamlet

[1] *Mercurius Pragmaticus for King Charles II.*, 5th-12th February, 1649-50, p. 5; *ibid.*, 30th April to 7th May; the *Weepers;* and *Man in the Moon*, No. 57, 29th May to 5th June, 1650, p. 426. Walker's authorship of *Severall Proceedings* also appears later on in his controversy with the Quakers, and it is to be dated from 31st January, 1650, on which day *Severall Proceedings* commenced to be published on Thursdays in lieu of Fridays. Probably Walker lost his second benefice about this time.

petitioned against his ministrations, he remained their pastor for some time.[1]

The *Man in the Moon's* printer, Edward Crouch, had been captured and imprisoned in 1649, and his brother writes indignantly in that periodical on 16th January: "Two women, as I am informed, Bradshaw committed close prisoners to old Bridewell the last weeke . . . one of which hath her husband Mr. Edward Crouch lying in Newgate about printing the *Man in the Moon* and must there starve unless God feed him as He did the prophet Elijah, for being both he and his wife imprisoned all means of livelyhood is taken away from them. Another poore woman named Ratcliffe they have almost whipt to death and kept this quarter of a year in Newgate till she is scarce able to stand or goe. Good God is this the liberty promised? Was ever the like persecutors? Lord heare the cryes of the poore and the prisoners, and deliver them and this dying island from these ravening wolves that are now devouring us and eating up the poore as bread, excising and racking all commodities to that excessible rate that a handicraft tradesman can at the best but earn bread for himselfe, whilst his poore infants make their dumb complaints and famish to death even in the sight of their parents, that we may even now take up the sad complaint of the prophet Nahum Chap. 3, and say unto London 'Woe unto thee thou bloody citie that art full of lies and robbery the prey departeth not,' etc. Yet in the 17 verse let this a little comfort us 'That though our crowned are as locusts and our captaines as the great grasshoppers that camp in the hedges in the cold days, yet when the sun riseth they shall flee away, etc., and their place is not known where they are'. Our sun is arising to chase away these vermin, if we cannot help him with our purses nor our hands, O let our prayers never be wanting, let us turn from evil and

[1] *Man in the Moon*, 31st October to 7th November, 1649; *ibid.*, 9th-16th January, 1650, p. 303; *Hist. MSS. Commission*, 4th Report, p. 188 *b*, and cover of Walker's sermon before Cromwell on 27th June, 1650.

humble ourselves and we shall soon see that their destruction ariseth suddenly. They will be caught in their own snare and fall into that pit they have digged for those more righteous than themselves."

This is an unusually serious vein for John Crouch, and it is a pity the tone of some of his later periodicals is not so praiseworthy.

The chief agent now employed as a spy to capture the Royalists was a woman called Elizabeth Alkin, who bore the nickname of "Parliament Joan".

Though "Joan" was a name given to any ill-mannered or ill-kempt rustic woman, or scullery-maid, who had to do dirty work, Elizabeth Alkin did not earn the title of "Parliament Joan" because she was a "peeper" out of Royalists and Royalist writers, but by reason of the manner in which she had pestered the House for relief. Her husband had been a spy in the Parliament's service within the royal lines, and had been detected and hanged at Oxford. She was thus left without maintenance. On 2nd June, 1649, the Commons ordered that a house should be provided for "Elizabeth Alkeen—a widdow," as her husband had "died in the parliament's service," and that "some competent maintenance should be considered of for her and her children for they are in a very low condition until relieved". By the end of the first week in July nothing, however, had been done for her, and Pecke then records that "one Jone (a clamorous woman) whose husband was hangd at Oxford for a spie and she sometimes imployed in finding out the presses of scandalous pamphlets," was ordered to be taken into custody because she had showed "great incivilities to Sir James Harrington" (a member) and was "ordered to be sent to the house of correction".[1] Which meant a whipping!

In the entrapping of the Mercury writers "Parliament Joan" soon took the lead, and it is quite clear that she

[1] *The Kingdomes Faithfull Scout*, 1st-8th June, 1649, p. 147; *A Perfect Diurnall*, No. 310, 2nd-9th July, p. 2635.

became a Mercury woman herself for the purpose. She soon became known: "Gentlemen," cries the *Man in the Moon*, "pray have a care of a fat woman aged about fifty—her name I know not—she is called by many 'Parliament Joan' —and one Smith a printer a tall thin chapt' knave, if any such persons come pretending to search—look to yourselves and say Towzer gave you warning, there are some both male and female of the gang, that receive moneys to betray me, and then rob others by the same warrant".[1]

By March, 1650, "Parliament Joan" had regained her place in the good graces of the authorities, and the question of her dwelling was again taken up; "either the slaughter house belonging to the late king or some other dwelling of equal value" being first suggested. Eventually, however, and presumably in order that she might be near the Council of State, she was actually given lodgings in Whitehall itself. She had always received her instructions from Bradshaw, through Frost, the Secretary, and had been at once christened "Bradshaw's doxy". Of Frost the *Man in the Moon* remarks: "I believe I shall go near the next week to break the Ice for him, and his head to boot if he persists in his design against me—to hire Rogues and Queans to poach after me—for this week I give him a fair warning, the next week (if I hear any more) 'ha-*vat*' him—I have that in my budget both against him and his little icicles shall thaw them with a vengeance and make them more infamous to the world than Walker himself".

It must have been Frost's idea that "Parliament Joan" in her errands about the streets of London as a Mercury woman should take the name of "Mrs. Strof" or "Stroffe," the anagrammatic pseudonym under which in years gone by he had written his almanacs. In the following story from the *Man in the Moon* on 4th July, 1649, we have little difficulty in recognising "Parliament Joan's" identity: "A hot combat

[1] *The Man in the Moon*, No. 43, 13th-20th February, 1650.

lately happened at the Salutation Tavern in Holborn where some of the Commonwealth's vermin called souldiers had seized on an Amazonian virago called Mrs. *Stroffe* upon suspition of being a loyalist and selling the *Man in the Moon's* books but she by applying beaten pepper to their eyes disarmed them (and with their own swords) forced them to ask her forgiveness and down on their mary-bones and pledge a health to the king, and confusion to their masters the Regicides, and so honourably dismissed them. O for 20,000 such gallant spirits to pepper the rogues—you may see what valiant puppies your new kings be when one woman can beat two or three of them."

This story shows "Parliament Joan's" method of working, and her pretended conquest of the soldiers indicates that the arrest was a mistake.

Her captures can be traced by the sums paid to her, always through Frost; for they are noted in the State Papers, and usually amounted to £10. From posing as a "Mercury," and therefore necessarily running into danger of arrest where she was not known, the idea naturally occurred to "Parliament Joan" of publishing and selling a newsbook with her own name upon it as a protection. As a matter of course, through her influence with the Council of State, she easily obtained a license for her *Mercurius Anglicus* and *Modern Intelligencer*, published at Henry Walker's address—The Fountain, Kings Street. The first numbers of Border's *Scout*, when it was reissued in 1650, were also printed for her.

All the Royalist Mercuries now came to an end. The *Royal Diurnall* had stopped on 30th April, 1650, and *Mercurius Pragmaticus* and *Elenticus* ceased on 28th May and 3rd June respectively; the *Man in the Moon* indicating that they had been frightened into silence rather than captured. After 5th June, however, John Crouch himself fell a victim, and was sent to the Gatehouse Prison, and the *Man in the Moon* appeared no more. A clean sweep had at last been made of the whole of the unlicensed press.

In the meantime, on 8th May, Marchamont Nedham had published a book on behalf of the Regicides, entitled *The Case of the Commonwealth Stated;* an absolutely shameless controversion of all the principles for which heretofore he had contended. So delighted were his new patrons with this, that on 24th May they ordered the sum of £50 to be paid to him by Mr. Frost, and Frost was also instructed to pay him £100 a year as a pension, "whereby he may subsist while endeavouring to serve the commonwealth, this to be done for one year by way of probation".[1]

Cromwell's series of butcheries in Ireland had long come to an end, and he returned at the end of May, 1650. It was then decided to allow the licensed newsbooks to reappear. Before this decision was carried out, however, a fourth official newsbook was commenced. *Mercurius Politicus* made its appearance every Thursday, commencing with 13th June, 1650, and continuing without a break until 12th April, 1660. It is therefore a periodical of importance, the conception of which must be attributed to John Milton, who was its editor probably from the end of the year 1650 (when the style of it suddenly alters) until the beginning of March, 1652.

A modern editor is but the general of a large staff, and has little to do with the writing of his periodical, but this term, as opposed to "author," may be correctly employed to designate the *rôle* now filled by Milton, Scobell and Rushworth with regard to the newsbooks. Milton had little to do with the writing of the periodical, reserving his energy for an occasional passage or an indication for a leading article, and the pamphlet as a whole was written by Hall or Nedham.

Mercurius Politicus and the other three official periodicals for some reason are the only ones now entered in the Stationers' Registers, and the first entry of *Mercurius Politicus* is dated 19th September, 1650, when Matthew Simmons, the printer, who was succeeded by Thomas Newcombe, entered "three pamphlets called *Mercurius Politicus* by permission of

[1] Cal. State Papers Dom., 1650, p. 174.

authority" (*i.e.*, the Council of State). On 17th March, 1650-51, six copies were entered "by order of Mr. Milton," the entries running continuously in this manner until 29th January, 1651-52, when the authority is not stated. It is fairly certain, however, that Milton was the acknowledged editor of this periodical, until it was taken over by John Thurloe, who was appointed Secretary on Walter Frost's death.

Proof of the fact that Marchamont Nedham was not even reputed to be the original author of *Mercurius Politicus*, is contained in Samuel Sheppard's *Weepers*; *or, The Bed of Snakes Broken* (dated 13th September, 1652), an attack on certain dishonest Royalists who were cheating people out of their money under the pretence that funds given them were for the late King's servants in distress. The *Weepers* terminates with "six cupping glasses, clapt to the cloven feet of the six daemons, who govern the times by turns from Monday to Saturday annually," and here Sheppard describes, in the plainest and most unmistakable terms, the writers of the newsbooks which appeared each day. Nedham is alluded to as writing a periodical on Mondays, entitled *Mercurius Britannicus* (to be described hereafter); and of *Politicus*, which appeared on Thursdays, Sheppard writes as follows:—

"Tacitus and the rest of the Roman historians never intended their annals as this gentleman's Aphorisms. I owe much gratitude here—I wish to live to retaliate his favours —My liberty was once won by his industry.

> Charus erit Verri qui Verrem tempore quo vult
> Accusare potest—
> Verres even hugs and courts him that has power
> To controvert his liberty each hour."

The only person to whom such a compliment could be paid was John Thurloe, who had been appointed Secretary on 29th March, 1652, after Walter Frost's death; and it shows his character in an unexpectedly amiable light, for it is quite evident that throughout Sheppard took no oaths and

surrendered no principle in order to obtain his liberty. He writes in his Epigrams (Book 6, No. 16), under the heading "My imprisonment in Whittington for writing *Mercurius Elencticus*:"—

> Most strange it seems unto the vulgar rout
> That, that which thrust me in, should guard me out
> My soule with no engagements clog'd but thus
> My gaining life, strook dead *Elencticus.*

Mercurius Politicus is entered under the hand of John Thurloe, commencing with 12th January, 1652-53; and of the ordinary newsbooks, none of which are entered in the Stationers' Registers, the licenser was John Rushworth, the Secretary of the Army. When the Act of 20th September, 1649, was re-enacted by the Printing Act of 7th January, 1653, the *agent* for the army was substituted for the *secretary* of the army as licenser; and the fact that it was found necessary to do this is the clearest indication that the bulk of the work fell on the army representative, and not on the clerk of the Parliament.

Frost, as has already been shown, was never a licenser.[1]

Another journalistic development in the year 1650 undoubtedly owes its origin to John Milton, amongst whose friends was numbered William Du-Gard, Master of Merchant Taylors' School. Du-Gard, who had a private printing press, had been committed to Newgate for printing the *Defensio regia pro Carolo primo* of Claude de Saumaise, and had been released at the petition of Sir J. Harrington, subsequently becoming a printer to the Council of State. In 1651 he printed a version in French of Milton's *Eikonoclastes*, styling himself "Guill. Du-Gard Imprimeur du conseil d'état," the translation of which has been ascribed to John Dury; but this is doubtful, for Milton translated French documents, as the State Papers show. However this may be, towards the

[1] Frost's name does not appear in the Stationers' Registers as licenser except in the case of the *Brief Relation*, while Rushworth's and (at a later date) Mabbott's names frequently are to be seen.

end of the month of June, 1650, Du-Gard commenced a new journal in French (a "paper" of four pages), in imitation of *Le Mercure Anglois;* it is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that the idea of this periodical proceeded from his friend Milton, who must at the same time have been the licenser.

The periodical was entitled *Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres*, and has almost entirely perished. Thomason evidently did not consider it necessary to add it to his collection. As, however, it actually attained 567 numbers and probably many more, it had, next to the still existing *Gazette*, the longest life of any seventeenth century journal. The numbers for the year 1654 (Nos. 186 to 229) appear to be the earliest in existence, and were alleged to be "Par Guil. Du-Gard. Par autorité," and sold by Nicholas Bourne. Whether Du-Gard was the writer, or printer, or both, is not clear. The 567th number is amongst the State Papers in the Record Office, and was printed in 1663, apparently after a cessation for two years, by the famous Royalist printer, Brown of the Hague. Brown had returned to London at the time, and established himself in business again with his French partner, Jean de l'Écluse, who may then have written the periodical. Henry Muddiman, the privileged journalist of the Restoration, had several correspondents, however, in Belgium and France, and appears himself to have understood French;[1] the revival of the periodical, which probably ceased for about two years with Nedham's *Mercurius Politicus*, seems, therefore, to have been due to him. That Milton should set on foot a periodical of the kind is quite what we might expect, having regard to his controversy with De Saumaise, and, should the earlier numbers be discovered, interesting details as to his controversy may be expected.

The older licensed newsbooks were next allowed to recommence by degrees. Border's *Scout* started afresh on 28th June, under the name of *The Impartial Scout*, and Rob. Wood, his printer, marked the first five numbers "printed for Eliza-

[1] The *Gazette*, when founded, was itself translated into French.

beth Alkin". *Perfect Passages of Every Daies Intelligence*, printed by John Clowes, was written, so Sheppard tells us in the *Weepers*, by Henry Walker, and started on 5th July. Walker, therefore, wrote two periodicals which were published on successive days. Clowes and Ibbitson, the printer of *Severall Proceedings*, were the printers of his older newsbook *Perfect Occurrences*, and it is evident that they had parted company.

Of Walker Sheppard writes: "This red-bearded chronicler hath found so happy a metamorphosis as from an Hebrew Ironmonger to become a paradoxical divine. You would think (if you heard him preach) that he had taken his text from a Gazet, you heard so much of a curranto. O, he's excellent in private at Parlour sermons, and meeting houses, and here commonly he is more Enthusiast than Scripturist. His auditors believe his dreams to be as canonicall as the Revelation. Like those Melancton speaks of, 'Quic quid somniant volunt esse spiritum sanctum'. But what have I to do with this venerable man. Fames fingers are too foule to touch such holy rites. He is very sententious, fluent and sublime in his weekly intelligence, and so I leave him."

The *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer* was revived on 23rd July[1] as the *Weekly Intelligencer of the Commonwealth*.

The most salient feature to be noticed about all the licensed newsbooks now is the shrinkage in their size; but, though their pages were not so large as formerly, their appearance was in every way improved. With the increase of their respectability, however, and with improved typography and style, came a decrease in interest, and they were obviously drilled into the most abject subjection. Pecke attempted to imitate Walker by recommencing his old *Perfect Diurnall of some Passages in Parliament*, but this revival was

[1] The number for 24th-31st December, 1650, is marked "Printed for R. C.," which shows that R. C. was a bookseller and indicates him to be the Richard Collings already mentioned. Possibly, like Pecke, he had a stall in Westminster Hall.

limited to two numbers, and so until 1655 he was only Rushworth's "author".

Henry Walker's connexion with Cromwell has already been noticed; and he was now employed for a service which should render manifest the truth of the *Man in the Moon's* accusation (4th July, 1649), that it was Cromwell who employed him to publish the pirated version of Father Persons' book in order to justify the murder of King Charles.

In June, 1650, war with Scotland was inevitable, and it was decided that Fairfax and Cromwell should both go as generals. Both accepted their commands; but in the end Cromwell alone went, as also he alone went to Ireland. That some intrigue excluded Fairfax from the leadership is clear; that the account of his refusal to go and of his relations with Cromwell was untruthfully put before the public is clearer still from the fact that the farewell sermon on 27th June (the day before Cromwell started for Scotland), at the valedictory service in the chapel of Somerset House, was preached by Henry Walker. It was with the blessing of the author of *Taylor's Physic has Purged the Divel* that Cromwell started for his victory at Dunbar, and he must have smiled to himself as he heard the red-haired newsmonger compare Fairfax and himself to Abraham and Lot separating from one another without anger—Cromwell of course being compared to Abraham and the Divine promises being applied to him. "Those that are only outward professors," said the reverend preacher, "they may be often startled at transactions of affairs by the Parliament, or by the Army, or persons, or actings of men, but this is because their hearts are not sound with God." Such sentiments could not but find approval with Cromwell and were quite in the style of his own manifestoes. Walker, therefore, received the customary authority to have his sermon printed.

Unfortunately for Walker he was not content with this, and, swollen with a sense of his own importance as an apostle of Independency and the inspired teacher of an army which

was to conquer a nation and subdue another faith, he added a long dedication to his printed sermon, addressing it "To his Excellency the Lord Generall and to the Honourable the Collonels and the rest of the officers of the prosperous army for the Parliament". This supplementary exhortation commenced: "Gentlemen souldiers. Stand to your Armes, ye have a good Cause, a good God, and glorious inducements." The writer then contrived to thoroughly expose the fact that there *was* a difference between Cromwell and Fairfax, by lying so clumsily as to render it surprising that his falsehoods should have ever been repeated, even in an altered form.

He attributed the cause of Fairfax's retirement to his wife's persuasion. "What though your old Lord Generall be not with you," wrote he, "he is not against you, *he hath signed the engagement with you*, and hath promised to be faithful to you, you have his heart still in the camp, though his Spouse hath persuaded his wearyed body to take rest in her bosome."

Next, referring to Cromwell himself, he continued: "And you have his Excellency still with you, now Lord Generall, who was before, under God, the primum mobile of your motions, and is still the myrrour of Hoasts, the Metropolitan of Religion, and the Glory of this Nation" (!) "And though your former general hath been persuaded to take a writ of Ease to himself for his wife and her friends sake, yet do not ye divide, but stand the more firme in your own union grounded upon God, as you love your own lives, the Parliament," (!) "and the English Nation, and desire the propogation of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus."

And, no doubt anticipating that similar scenes of treachery and murder would take place in Scotland, he alluded to the terrible Irish campaign by saying: "The Lord hath been seen in the English Mount and much manifested His presence in your Irish tents," and then urged them to treat the Presbyterians of Scotland as they had treated the Catholics of Ireland by adding: "If they" (the Scots) "love blood, let

them have it in their own land. It is better to crush the Cockatrice in the Egge then to let him swell to a troublesome monster."

As preface to the sermon a copy of the Act depriving Fairfax of his command was next set out.

Cromwell was many things, but he was not a fool, and when a copy of this compound of folly and impertinence reached him at his headquarters in a market town in Northumberland, he had it burnt by the hands of the "common officer" for abusing "both the late Lord Generall and his Excellency that then was".[1]

In June, 1651, Samuel Sheppard once more entered the lists, as a licensed journalist, with *Mercurius Pragmaticus Revived.* The title was disallowed, as he relates; consequently he changed it to *Elencticus*, with the like result after two or three numbers, so in a fit of temper he entitled the next number *Scommaticus.* It was then suppressed altogether. The verses prefixed to these periodicals are of a much better kind than those with which the older Royalist Mercuries commenced, and are interesting as showing the state of mind of a Cavalier trying to make the best of things.[2]

[1] *A Perfect Diurnall*, No. 33, 22nd-29th July, 1650, p. 391. Pecke's delight is manifest. Fairfax's wife was not a Presbyterian but an Anabaptist (*Mercurius Impartialis*, No. 1, 5th-12th December, 1648, p. 6). It has already been shown that Hatter and not Rushworth was Fairfax's secretary.

[2] The following may be quoted from Sheppard's *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, No. 3, 1st-8th June, 1652:—

Sorrow's a serious madness. Mirth
The darling of an hour
Sweet in conception and the birth
But in the parting sour.
Riches are precious in the growth
And relish in the spending
Till such time as they find the moth
And customary ending
Then care to usury. Salt tears
To widows, and opprest
If there be happiness in fears
'Tis better n'er be blest

In the month of September, 1651, "Parliament Joan" appears to have resumed her remarkable rôle of Mercury woman. The battle of Worcester was fought and lost on 3rd September, and a reward of £1,000 was offered for the capture of King Charles II., who, as will be remembered, was a fugitive for many days in England. Did the Commonwealth authorities consider that the King was likely to conceal himself in London? They were experts in opening and reading letters in cypher, and may have intercepted a communication giving intelligence of some intention of the kind. The idea certainly occurred to Charles himself to make his way on foot to London; and many Royalists succeeded in reaching it safely.

The Act of 20th September, 1649, expired on Michaelmas Day, and the Mercury women, all unlicensed newsbooks having been suppressed, were allowed to ply their trade once more; so "Parliament Joan" had a fresh newsbook printed, *Mercurius Scoticus; or, The Royal Messenger, impartially communicating the daily proceedings of the Armies in England, Ireland and Scotland and other remarkable occurrences from the parliament's navy at sea, Prince Rupert's fleet in the Straits and the Countess of Derby in the Isle of Man, etc.*, was the full title, and it will be noted that the "catchword," *Mercurius Scoticus; or, The Royal Messenger*, was one which would be likely to sell it at once to a Royalist.

It was printed by John Clowes for Elizabeth Alkin, and No. 2 (possibly the only number) was dated 23rd-30th September, 1651. Its contents are anything but Royalist in matter or manner, and they consist mainly of fulsome praise

> Give me the freer heart and soul
> Can melt a day in laughter
> Whose spirits no sad thoughts control
> And yet be merry after
> For 'tis a prison to mine eyes
> To meet my cronies crying
> As though they mourned their obsequies
> Before they were a dying.

of Cromwell, in whose honour there is a doggerel Latin acrostic by one Francis Nelson. "Parliament Joan," as "Mrs. Stroffe," "Mercury" woman, was thus able to approach any persons noted as strangers and Royalists, get them into conversation, extract all they knew from them, and afterwards utilise the information thus gained. Naturally the unlucky Royalist, thus stealthily approached, would at once hide in his pocket a copy of this newsbook which he had purchased in a tavern or elsewhere; and his confidence gained by the attractive title would hold a whispered conversation with the hawker, and not until reaching home and drawing out his little "newsbook" would he discover that he had been swindled. Even then, particularly if he were a fugitive from Worcester fight, he might not think that matters were worse than they seemed, and that the fat old woman who had sold it to him, instead of being a poor and dishonest Royalist, was in reality the notorious "Parliament Joan" —"peeper" and "whisperer" to the Council of State. "Parliament Joan," therefore, has a place—and a peculiar one—in the history of London publishers.

The revival of hawking the newsbooks about the streets led to a picture by Sheppard of the result in the Fleet Street of his day, which (*mutatis mutandis*) might pass very well for a sketch of our own times:—

"O the mysterie of a little inck and paper. What a pannique feare possesses the soule of the Universe when the hawkers come roaring along the streets like the religious singers of Bartholomew Fayre. The high crown'd citizen pricks up his eares and cranes his neck over the bulk till he looks as blew under the gills as an eelskin to hear whether there be any newes of the Publique Faith, which was eaten up at a breakfast by the Solemn League and Covenant in Turn againe Lane. But failing of his expectation, he shrinks in his lanthorn soule againe, with a pitiful riveling up of the nose and a Synodical 'Hem'. Then traversing Fleet Street (the Lawyers Exchange) out comes a Pettyfogger of the

Threes with his profession in his ear and his tarbox at his side, keeping touch with his pocket like Hopkins and Sternhold in marrying the Psalmes, and looking as big as a bag pudding farmer of the long twelves. If his clerical gizzard be not with him he calls out 'Sirrah! Books? What Act's on foot? No gingle to demurr—to deceive—to detract? Away you noisemonger!' Alas, good gentleman, his buckeram pouch is never at peace longer than his lunges are bellowing downe the sides of Westminster Hall. At last comes by the Country Parson with his Canonicall breeches run up the seames with the figure of a statute lace like the old Letany interloyned with a 'Libera nos Domine,' who never attempted to preach above once in his life time and that was at the Wake day, for which he was sequestered. And he rubs his elbows, and winks at the Mercury to convey him a pennyworth of wit into his hawking bagg, and so goes tripping along, to show it to his worshipful patron to bespeak him a Sunday collation. Thus we please or displease, according to the censure of the Court."

In another periodical Sheppard writes of the newsbooks themselves: "No rest day or night with these cursed caterpillars, *Perfect Passages*, *Weekly Occurrences*, *Scout*, *Spye*, *Politicus*, *Diurnal*, the Devil and his dam. If the States have occasion for soldiers they may no doubt press a whole regiment of these paper vermine. . . . To see men grossly abused in their beliefs, the whole Nation deceived and gulled out of their money, by a company of impudent snakes, of whom (one only excepted) I dare aver none of them was ever guilty of writing three lines of sense—They prey upon the Printer or Stationer, the Stationer on the Hawker and the Hawker on everybody. But the cream of the jest is, how they take their times and rises, one upon Munday, t'other on Tuesday, a third on Wednesday, and so come over one anothers backs as if they were playing at leapfrog. . . . It would much refresh a man with laughter to consider how these Rakeshames piece and patch up that above said account which

they weekly diffuse amongst the people—'Newes' and this week's News'. For they have more tricks in their Rotations than a Cook of a three penny ordinary has with his cold meat. First he boils it, if he miss of good custom he roasts it, if that will not serve he stews it, and if he miss then too he minces it, but if in case of hot weather he be prevented of performing all his pleasure upon it, he casts it stinking and full of maggots into the Prisoners basket, beseeching God to mistake that necessity which he had to rid himself of stinking meat for pure charity." [1]

By the commencement of the year 1652 John Crouch had regained his liberty, and recommenced pamphleteering as a licensed journalist. The wit and the coarseness of his Royalist periodical, *The Man in the Moon*, have been noticed. He now, however, began to write a series of periodicals in which the humour was of an infinitely more dubious kind, and in which for the coarseness was substituted a deliberate pornography impossible to match in English literature. In *Mercurius Democritus; or, A True and Perfect Nocturnall*, commenced on 8th April, 1652, and continued as the *Laughing Mercury*, and again as *Democritus* until the end of February, 1654, and in *Mercurius Fumigosus*, commenced in June, 1654, and continued without a break until 3rd October, 1655, there lies the gravest indictment which it is possible to bring against Independent morality. These periodicals, and they are not the only Independent productions of a similar type, licensed regularly from week to week, first by John Rushworth and secondly by Gilbert Mabbott, the official licensers to the Commonwealth and Protectorate—not one single number being unlicensed—can only be described as abominable. The lack of authority in religious matters had produced a corrosive effect on family life, and a perusal of these duly authorised periodicals leaves no possible room for doubt, that one effect of keeping a standing army of 30,000 men in London

[1] *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, No. 5, 15th-22nd June, 1652, and *Mercurius Mastix*, No. 1, 20th-27th August, 1652.

had been the crowding of the outskirts of the city with brothels.[1]

London was at least a cleaner and sweeter city for ordinary folk to dwell in when Cromwell's army was disbanded by Charles II., whatever the life of the Court may have been in his days, and John Crouch and John Garfield, the writer of the *Wandering Whore*, were promptly "clapt up in Newgate" in 1660, when they then attempted to circulate literature of the kind they had issued under the rule of Cromwell.[2]

The fact that an Act dated 10th May, 1650, prescribed death as the penalty for adultery, and imprisonment for three months as the punishment for simple incontinence, on the face of it appears to conflict with what has been said above, and requires explanation.

The abolition of the High Commission and other Courts which punished cases of the kind caused the introduction of this Act in the Presbyterian Parliament of 1644. Commencing with the month of December in that year, it was considered at various times in 1645 and 1647 until 1648, when it was allowed to drop in the month of March.

No zeal for the public morals animated the Independent leaders who revived the idea of the Act on 23rd March, 1649, for they had been exposed from day to day by the Royalist Mercuries, and their private lives had been the subject of ribald ballads sung about the streets. They had the rigid Presbyterians to conciliate, and the country-folk to hoodwink, by exhibiting themselves as stern upholders of the

[1] Names and places of these are continually mentioned. The casual observer might think that Crouch's periodicals consist only of "horse wit" or indecency. *Mercurius Democritus*, No. 47, 2nd-9th March, 1653, p. 272; No. 62, 26th June to 6th July; No. 65, 20th-27th July, 1653; and No. 56, 11th-25th May, 1653, will at once dispel this idea. I refer chiefly to the verse. As a ballad writer Crouch possessed great skill and some of his verse is charming.

[2] *A Hue and Cry after "Mercurius Democritus" and the "Wandering Whore,"* 1662. A list of the prisoners in Newgate. (S. P. Dom., Chas. II., vol. 43, No. 24.)

Divine moral law. Moreover, as a parliamentarian Mercury remarks, with engaging frankness, in alluding to the Royalist attacks, there was "a president for the future generations" to set, in order that they might be thought other than what they really were. Consequently the very men as regards whose private lives there can be no doubt—those who were notorious for the sins the Act was to punish—took the lead in promoting it. It was to the care of the licentious Weaver that the House committed the Act on 22nd March, 1650; and of the five members to whom it was again remitted on 12th April, Henry Marten, most notorious of all the members, was one.[1] The "Kitling Kings" were above all laws. No action could be taken against any member of the House of Commons, and none ever was taken under this Act. The Middlesex Sessions Rolls give a complete list of all persons tried under this Act in London. Only a few cases are recorded of the trial of persons for the minor offence and always with an acquittal. The Rolls, however, contain twenty-eight cases of persons arraigned for adultery, the first being dated 11th November, 1651, and the last 14th November, 1658. Of these cases three were for repetitions of the offence, and only in eleven instances were the men put on trial with their partners in guilt. In all cases but one a verdict of "Not Guilty" was

[1] Commons Journals under dates cited. For an account of Weaver's and Marten's misdeeds see *Mercurius Pragmaticus for King Charles II.*, 26th February to 5th March, 1649, and 9th-16th April, 1650. Marten's "new buildings" and Weaver's house are described with perhaps wilful exaggeration in the *Man in the Moon*, No. 14, 5th-12th September, 1649, but that a third establishment mentioned at the same time really existed appears from the abominable *Mercurius Nullus* of 13th March, 1654. See also as regards one of Marten's mistresses and the high rank given her by an ambassador, *Hist. MSS. Commission*, 5th Report, p. 192. The disgusting *Wandering Whore* at the end of 1660 gives long catalogues of names which show the existence of an astonishing amount of moral evil, such as it would be absurd to deny required years to build up. Charles II.'s proclamations against "vicious debauched and profane persons" of 30th May and 13th August, 1660, acquire a very definite meaning in this connection.

recorded—obviously because the penalty was considered excessive.

It is reasonable to conclude that all those who were thus tried were really guilty, and had been selected because their offences were peculiarly flagrant. A case, therefore, which affords a pertinent comment, on the licensing of immoral periodicals is that of Hester Griffin, acquitted on 20th February, 1656, of the crime of adultery with Gilbert Mabbott—naturally Mabbott was not arraigned with her.[1]

The solitary case of a conviction—that of Ursula Powell on 30th August, 1652—was probably occasioned by her being a "Ranter," that is a member of one of the strangely immoral sects springing up at the time. Although she was respited on account of her condition at the time there is no justification for the opinion that the death penalty was not inflicted in her case. Religious rancour would be certain to see to that.[2]

Mercurius Democritus did not escape occasional suppression any more than the other licensed periodicals, and that it actually should have been suppressed, not for pandering to immorality, but for vilifying a rascal like Henry Walker, only makes the matter worse. On 25th August, 1652, Crouch wrote: "Walking lately by the chappel of Knightsbridge

[1] *Middlesex County Records*, vol. iii., by J. C. Jeaffreson.

[2] There is some confused jargon referring to her as a sectary in the *Laughing Mercury*, No. 22, 25th August to 8th September, 1652, p. 170. In the case of the equally rare victims in the country religious animosity was also the cause of a conviction. At Taunton on 19th July, 1650, a woman was sentenced for adultery with "a priest who had been heretofore displaced from his Rectorship for his scandalous life" (*Weekly Intelligencer of the Commonwealth*, No. 1, 16th-23rd July, 1650, p. 7). It is strange that Mr. Inderwick in his *Interregnum* (p. 34) should have thought that a Catholic priest was meant by the word "priest" (the account, however, was furnished him from another source) and not a clergyman or Presbyterian minister. Whitelocke's *Memorials*, which also mention this case, are open to the same misconstruction. The Act enriched the English language by one word—"trapan". "The Trap-Pannians, alias Trap-Pallians, alias Trap-Tonians" (2nd August, 1653).

and enquiring how their pastor did, one of his sheep replyed 'That it had been well if he had been hanged before ever he came there' ". This was probably true, but Crouch went on to accuse Walker of immorality. On 6th September an attack on Hugh Peters, Walker's friend, appeared in *A New Hue and Cry after General Massey*, and in reply to the two attacks Walker wrote in *Severall Proceedings* that Peters "and others of God's people" had been "thus abused—yet some will probably be made exemplary who have reviled Mr. Peters and others by lying scandals to make others for the future beware". In the result, the writer of the pamphlet against Peters, one Acton, had to abscond, and his printer Robert Eeles, a poor man who had been several times imprisoned, was compelled to apologise; but no retractation of the stories against Peters was ever made.[1] *Democritus* also was suppressed, and had to change its name to the *Laughing Mercury*.

At the end of July, 1652, Nedham commenced a new *Mercurius Britannicus*, as Sheppard states in the *Weepers;* the authorship of the periodical can moreover be identified by its style. His object now was to attack the Presbyterians and those who did not favour Cromwell, of whom he is henceforth to be noted as a thorough-going partisan. After a few numbers, however, he discontinued it, and it was then carried on, though probably not before the month of October, 1652, by one of those very Presbyterians he had attacked, and was printed by the same printer, Cottrell.

This advocate of religious orthodoxy was a cooper by trade, and had been one of the Hertfordshire excisemen.[2] He was immediately opposed by Border in the *Faithfull Scout*, by now an advocate of Anabaptism, and whole pages of his *Britannicus* were copied and altered by the *Scout*. As a result

[1] *Severall Proceedings*, 2nd-9th September, 1652, p. 2419; and 16th-23rd September, p. 2457. The stories against Peters were old, never denied, and continually repeated from 1643 downwards.

[2] *The Faithfull Scout*, 19th-26th November, 1652. That the *Scout* was Anabaptist may be seen from the manifesto set out in No. 93, 22nd-29th October, 1652.

of their respectively too orthodox and too heterodox opinions, both periodicals were soon in trouble. The author of *Britannicus* had to flee, his printer being committed to the Gatehouse; and the *Faithfull Scout* was also temporarily suppressed. After two or three days' imprisonment Cottrell was released.[1]

In consequence of this and of one or two attempts at a Presbyterian insurrection, the Act of 1649 was not only revived, but the Stationers' Company was subjected to practical suppression. The Printing and Printers Act was passed on 7th January, 1653, and not only made the Act of 1649 permanent, but dealt a heavy blow at printing itself. By it

1. The Council of State was ordered to inquire into the number of printing presses, to suppress such as they thought fit, and also to decide how many apprentices each master printer should have.

2. The government of printers and printing was entirely removed from the Stationers' Company to the Council of State.

3. No one was to be a printer (unless licensed by Parliament or the Council of State) who had not been an apprentice for seven years. And printers were to exercise their calling in their own houses only, under a penalty of £40 a month.

4. The "agent for the army" was appointed with power to license "intelligence concerning the affaires of the army," instead of the Secretary for the Army under the rules of the Act of 1649.[2]

The Agent for the Army was Gilbert Mabbott, who thus became for the third time licenser of the press. This appoint-

[1] Cal. State Papers Dom., 1651-52, pp. 444, 464; Cal. of 1652-53, pp. 78, 88. "*Britanicus* that lately fled for his religion" (*Mercurius Democritus*, No. 57, 1st June, 1653, p. 451).

[2] W. Hughes' *Exact Abridgment of Acts and Ordinances from* 1640 *to* 1656 (1st July, 1657), p. 470. It is noticeable that this Act followed Cromwell's conversation with Whitelocke about "What if a man took upon himself to be King?" The ordinance of 1655 also followed upon a more open attempt to obtain the title.

ment is an eloquent commentary on Mabbott's contention, when he was a Leveller in 1649, that licensing was wrongful, and we can conclude, therefore, that he no longer belonged to that faction. The reason of his conversion is easy to state. George Monck, afterwards Duke of Albemarle, had as secretary in Scotland one William Clarke—a man of obscure origin, whose services had been pressed on him by Cromwell in order that he might act as a spy on Monck, for it was "ever Cromwell's way to send a pilot fish" with his instruments. We shall see that Monck, when planning the Restoration of King Charles II. did not trust Clarke. Mabbott had married Clarke's sister and, owing to this circumstance and to his having previously been employed by Fairfax, he filled the office of Agent of the Armies in the three kingdoms. At the Restoration Mabbott succeeded through Monck's influence in obtaining a patent for the sale of licenses for "Wine and strong waters" in Ireland, which he afterwards surrendered for £4,800. So this fellow—one of the enemies of King Charles I.—was actually rewarded by that monarch's son, Charles II., who could not have been aware of the tenor of the articles in the *Moderate*.[1]

Cromwell was not long in putting his new Press Act into operation, and nothing like the persecution of the printers which took place at the end of the year 1653 has ever been seen before or since. John Lilburne had returned to England, and was tried on 20th August. Cromwell's object was to hang him, but the jury acquitted him. Within about two months eighteen printers were consigned to Newgate or the Gatehouse for printing pamphlets against Cromwell. The list of printers giving security in 1649 shows that there were only thirty-four in London in that year. Richard Moon was arrested on 27th August; John Streater on 12th September; John Clowes and Robert Austin on 17th September; Richard Royston, Edward Dod and Richard Tomlins on 30th Sep-

[1] Cal. S. P. Dom., 1660-61, p. 397; Cal. S. P. Irish, 1660-62, pp. 92, 203, 349; and 1663-65, pp. 225, 235, 248, 278 and 409.

tember; William Rand on 1st October; James Wayte, Robert Hannam, Thomas Locke and Henry Barnes on 5th October; William Huby on 12th October; and Mrs. Clowes, George Horton, John Perkins, Isaac Grey and Thomas Spring on 21st October. Finally, on 23rd December, Robert Wood was also arrested for merely possessing an abstract of the "instrument of government". A general search warrant was granted to the sergeant-at-arms on 13th January, 1654, and London must have been strewn with broken printing presses. Huby and Clowes were kept in prison for six months, Horton for five and a half, Streater for five, and Grey and Hannam for about four; of the others there is no record.[1]

During the year 1653 no new periodicals of any importance appeared. The Anabaptist *Scout* and the *Post* tried to attract attention to themselves by frequent changes of title, but evidently with small success. A still more marked process of decadence is to be noticed in 1654. During this year two ephemeral periodicals appeared, both written by Nedham in support of Cromwell's designs, the one entitled *Mercurius Poeticus* (it was not in verse), the other the *Observator*, the chief object of which was to defend the maintenance of a standing army of 30,000 men. Two other curious periodicals also sprang into being, compiled by an unknown writer, apparently on the principle of administering a powder in jam, and entitled *Observations on Aristotle's Politics* and a *Politick Commentary* on the lives of the Cæsars, in which news was sandwiched between classical learning of the most dubious kind.

"Parliament Joan's" *métier* was gone. Her last appearance as a spy was, however, a noteworthy one. At the end of

[1] Most of these printers will be identified as printers of newsbooks, and an account of nearly all of them will be found in *A Dictionary of Printers*, etc., "between 1641 and 1667," published for the Bibliographical Society (1907) by H. R. Plomer. Warrants for their arrest as well as those of several writers are shown in the Calendars of State Papers under the dates given.

1653 the brother of the Portuguese Ambassador, by name Dom Pantaleon Sa, killed an Englishman at the New Exchange in the Strand. The principle of international law, that an ambassador's house is sacred and that messengers of the law may not enter it, was violated, and Sa was executed. Elizabeth Alkin was the person who actually laid the information of the murder before the Council of State.

"Parliament Joan" was then granted a pension of £10 a year by order of Parliament, and passed the rest of her life in nursing the sailors wounded in the naval wars with the Dutch. One or two kindly acts are now to be recorded of her.

On 4th February, 1653, she petitioned for the release from custody of Thomas Budd, a poor Catholic priest, who had been in prison for nearly four years and was ill; possibly he had been captured by her agency, and he may have been the writer of *Mercurius Catholicus* in 1648. Her petition was granted, so powerful had her influence become, and he was given permission to stay three months in England in order to recover before banishment. She next petitioned to be allowed to nurse the seamen, and was sent first of all to Portsmouth and then to Harwich, when, though she seems to have done her best for the men, she recommenced clamouring for money.

On 2nd July, 1653, she wrote to Robert Blackburn, Secretary to the Admiralty Committee, as follows: "Sir, you have sent me down to Harwich with £5 but believe me it hath cost me three times as much. Since my coming I have laid out my monies for divers necessaries about the sick and wounded men here—it pities me to see poor people in distress. I cannot see them want if I have it. A great deal of moneys have I given to have them cleansed in their bodies and their hair cut. I go often to Ipswich to visit the sick and wounded there and return again to Harwich so that in coming and going money departs from me. . . . I pray you sir send me some money speedily for I stand in great need

thereof for the satisfying of my diet and reckoning I am owing. I have not been used to be so long behind for my pains. I pray you remember me and send me a present supply."

On 22nd February, 1654, she again wrote asking for money, and reminding Blackburn that her infirmities and sickness had been entailed "in the service of the Commonwealth" (*i.e.*, in her nightly watchings as spy).[1]

One curious fact is to be recorded of her. She petitioned to be buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey *without charge*. There is no date to the petition, but it was probably made during her last illness. Her name, however, is not to be found in the Abbey registers.[2]

Henry Walker was soon forgiven his injudicious dedication to his sermon, and his next work was again dedicated to Cromwell. It was a little book of devotional meditations which he entitled *ΤΡΑΓΗΜΑΤΑ. Sweetmeats or Resolves in all Cases who are Beleevers. In which many Divine Delicates that have been hid from Doubting Believers are Unvailed and Spread before them and their Warrants made Plaine to have a Right to that Glory which Dazels their Eyes*, etc. The book is dated June, 1654, and it appears from its title-page that Walker was then pastor of Dr. Bruno Ryves's old Church of St. Martin's Vintry.

"As God hath made you great, so I doubt not but that He hath made you good," wrote he to Cromwell and his Council, and added, with a face of brass, that he was about to set that which was sweet before their souls. "Here is both Corn and Wine prepared for you. . . . You are come from the Wars conquering as Gideon . . . and therefore such a

[1] S. P. Dom. Interregnum, vol. 38, No. 5, etc. The account given of her in the preface to the Calendar of 1653-54, as "the Florence Nightingale in humble life of the times," is not justified. Mrs. Everett Green was not aware of her earlier career, and has summarised the letters in the Calendar too favourably. She was paid for her work and probably well paid.

[2] *Hist. MSS. Commission*, 4th Report, App., p. 180 *a*, 56.

Banquet as this may not bee unseasonable. I hope to refresh you. . . . I am sure whosoever shall disturbe you whilst you feed on these delicates God will bee avenged on them. Eate therefore ye Friends of the Bridegroom and drink hereof abundantly, and let the peace of God distribute your garlands and the Word of the Lord bee the Cloudy Pillar to direct you then you shall surely arrive at the promised land whither I cannot doubt but you are travelling with your faithful servant and Orator to the throne of Grace for you. H. Walker."

The "Address to the Reader" which follows is even more amazing than this, and the latter is most patronisingly told that if there is any passage too hard for him to understand he may pass it by, but a very plain hint is added that if he does not appreciate the treatise he is no true believer and will not obtain eternal bliss. The whole concludes with an Hebrew and a Greek text, the former commencing, "He brought me to the Banqueting House".

Such pious loyalty could not but meet with a justly appropriate reward. Cromwell was about to make another attempt to obtain the Crown, and a hint of the fact slipped into Walker's *Perfect Proceedings* in May of the following year served as the forerunner to another literary effort on Walker's part. The remark in question had no relation whatever to its context and was simply, "I think we may beg his Highness to take the crown,"[1] but is the clearest possible indication that Walker was the author of *A Treatise Concerning the Broken Succession of the Crown of England. Inculcated about the*

[1] *Perfect Proceedings*, No. 293, 3rd-10th May, 1655 (last page). The following quaint denunciation places the fact beyond a doubt that Walker was at the time the author of this periodical: "In that which is called the *Perfect Proceedings*, a book of news which is printed for Robert Ibbitson dwelling in Smithfield, which says in his book which comes from Walker, one who professeth himself to be a Teacher, but it is of lyes" (*A Declaration from the Children of Light . . . called Quakers*, etc., 14th May, 1655). The date of the reprint of Father Persons' book is 30th May, 1655. It was reprinted for a last time in 1683, under its original title, in order to justify the exclusion of James II.

Latter End of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Not Impertinent for the better Compleating of the General Information. This appeared three weeks later and was none other than Father Persons' book once more dressed up, but this time with the real authorship acknowledged in a postscript. Another attack on the press followed the appearance of this book.

In September, 1655, the licensed press finally disappeared. Henceforth, until the return of the Rump to power, no one but Marchamont Nedham was allowed to publish news of any sort whatever. Walker's *Proceedings* were amalgamated by Nedham with the Monday's edition of his *Mercurius Politicus* and entitled the *Publick Intelligencer communicating the Chief Occurrences and Proceedings within the Dominions, etc.* The first number of this appeared on 8th October, 1655.

By an ordinance of the "Protector," with the advice of his council, dated 28th August, 1655, John Barkstead, Lieutenant of the Tower, Alderman John Dethick and George Foxcroft were appointed commissioners for the regulating of printing. The three were to—

1. Inquire as to the number of printing houses, presses, master printers, and their servants, workmen and apprentices in London, Westminster and Southwark. "And of what Fame Quality, Conversation or Condition each master printer was and how he his servants and workmen stood affected to the then government," and to certify the result twenty-eight days after receipt of this order.

2. To suppress and prosecute all unlicensed printers.

3. To find out whether all printers had entered into bonds with two sureties, and whether the conditions had been broken, and if so to prosecute.

4. To take care that no "pamphlets, books of news, or occurrences" whatsoever should be published *unless licensed by the "protector or his council"*. To prosecute those disregarding this order.

5. To put into speedy execution the previous Acts and the Act against hawkers.

6. To send all offenders to Bridewell to undergo "corporal and pecuniary punishment".

7. To break open locks and doors, under a general search warrant and a general warrant to arrest, of the widest possible character.

8. To appoint deputies (in writing) with all the above powers and to reward prosecutors.[1]

No license to any newsbook writer was ever granted by Cromwell or his council, and none appeared during his lifetime other than Marchamont Nedham's official *Mercurius Politicus* and *Publick Intelligencer*, issued every Thursday and Monday respectively. The two periodicals constituted one newsbook, but in a very curious way. Each was independent of the other, and each contained the news for seven days preceding its date of issue. Consequently they overlapped very much, and a person who wished to be promptly informed of what was taking place would have to buy both; though, of course, he would be equally well served in the end if he only purchased one newsbook a week. Each periodical consisted of sixteen pages and was much smaller in size than Walker's *Perfect Occurrences*, and it must be added, in justice to Walker, was not nearly so interesting to read.

Thurloe, Secretary of State, was responsible for what appeared in them. There is nothing further to record of them until the return of the Rump Parliament to power.

[1] W. Hughes, *Exact Abridgment*, etc., p. 594.

CHAPTER IX.

THE HISTORY OF ADVERTISING TO 1659.

EUROPEAN advertising offices owe their origin to an idea of the father of the famous French essayist, Montaigne,[1] and it is undoubtedly to French influence that the beginnings of advertising in England must be ascribed.

Its history in this country commences at an earlier date than that of the newsbooks and had far more distinguished originators. The first steps are to be found in the institution of advertising offices by two gentlemen of the Court of King James I., Sir Arthur Gorges and Sir Walter Cope.

Sir Arthur Gorges, poet and sailor, was the third son of Sir William Gorges, Vice-Admiral of the Fleet, and his mother was a cousin of Sir Walter Raleigh. With Raleigh, he was one of the volunteers against the Spanish invasion, and on four occasions he had been a member of Parliament. His second wife brought him Sir Thomas More's property at Chelsea, and in the chapel of More's house he was buried on 10th October, 1625.

Sir Walter Cope was a member of Queen Elizabeth's Society of Antiquaries, and became successively Chamberlain of the Exchequer, Master of the Wards and Keeper of Hyde Park.

He built Holland House, Kensington, in 1607, of which the earlier name was Cope Castle. He died on 31st July, 1614, and was buried in Kensington. Unlike Sir Arthur Gorges he did not die a rich man, but was £27,000 in debt at the time of his death.

[1] Montaigne's *Essays*, Book IV., chap. xxiv.

On 5th March, in the eighth year of his reign, King James I. granted Letters Patent to Sir Arthur Gorges and Sir Walter Cope, gentlemen of his privy chamber.[1] This document recited that all trade and commerce consisted "eyther in buying or selling or borrowing and lending. And for that a great defect is daily found in the policie of our State for want of some good trusty and ready means of intelligence and intercourse between our said subjects in that behalfe. By means whereof, many men oftentimes upon occasion of necessity and sudden accident, are inforced to put away and sell landes, leases, or other goodes and chattels, to great losse and disadvantage for want of good and ready meanes to give generall notice and publique intelligence of such their intentions to many that would (if they knew whereof) as willingly buy as the others would gladly sell," and that the two patentees had "out of their carefull endeavours found out and devised a most safe easy and speedy way to the great advancement and helpe unto generall Commerce and Trade . . . whereby to serve the turnes and occasions as well of Borrowers as Lenders and of Buyers as of Sellers by plaine and direct course of reciprocall intelligence, and interchangeable correspondency, for the ready notice and understanding of one anothers minds."

It then gave and granted "absolute full and free license power and authority to them their executors, administrators and assignes and to their Deputy and deputies for the term of 21 years," to set up, in any places, cities and towns where they thought fit, "a publique office roome or place of resort or repaire of people for the notice of Borrowing and Lending of moneyes and for the better knowledge of buying selling or exchanging of lands tenements or hereditaments, leases or any other goods or chattels whatsoever" which they should

[1] "*A True Transcript and Publication of his Majestie's Letters Pattent for an Office to be Erected and called the Publicke Register for Generall Commerce*, etc. Printed at Britain Bursse for John Budge and are there to be sold at his shop, 1611."

"think fit to be entered and registered, and to keepe one or more Kalender or Kalenders, Register or Registers, for the registring of all and singular such," which office in every place where it should be kept was to be called by the name of *The Publique Register for generall Commerce.*

For this privilege they were to pay an annual rent of £40 half-yearly. No man was to be compelled to make entry or search in the said office at all nor to "pay any more for such search or entry, then shall please himself". If Gorges and Cope found that the office did not pay, they were to be at liberty to determine their patent before Michaelmas, 1612, on notice to the Lord Treasurer.

The office was duly set up in Britaines Burse, a kind of Exchange, situate near Durham House in the Strand, at Charing Cross; it probably did not pay owing to the restriction that no one was to pay more than pleased himself, and the Letters Patent seem to have been terminated accordingly. The printed copy of the Letters Patent contains "An Overture and Explanation of the Purport and Use of this Office," from which it is quite clear that, had it succeeded, it was the intention of the promoters to set up offices of this kind all over the kingdom "to holde correspondence with the Citie of London". It is also very evident that it was intended not only to enter into competition with scriveners and brokers for the lending of money, but to set up a kind of banking business through correspondence between the London and country offices, and thus save people from the danger of robbery, owing to the necessity of carrying large sums of money when they journeyed to London to make their purchases. Altogether the whole scheme was far in advance of the age.

Matters then remained dormant until the year 1637. The first newsbook advertisement appeared, as has already been noticed, on 1st February, 1625-26, in *Mercurius Britannicus's* Coranto. On 13th December, 1637, Letters Patent were granted by King Charles I. to Captain Robert Innes for the

term of forty-one years. By these an office was instituted "whither masters or others having lost goods, women for satisfaction whether their absent husbands be living or dead, parents for lost children, or any others for discovering murders or robberies, and for all bargains and intelligences might resort if they pleased". This office also was to be voluntary, and Captain Innes was to receive "such recompense as the parties would give". Though not hampered, therefore, by any rent to the Crown, this second patent still had the defect that it gave the grantee no power to make definite charges. It is a little difficult to see why so extraordinary a limitation should have been placed upon him.

Captain Robert Innes was a Scotsman, a Royalist, and an opponent of Presbyterianism.[1] He had travelled in Turkey and the Continent, and, if the rebellions in Scotland and England had not broken out, some considerable development might have arisen from this patent. As it was, he did not act upon it, and died, presumably fighting on the King's side. The patent then remained dormant until 1657.

The first practical realisation of these ideas was reserved for Henry Walker. In his issue of *Perfect Occurrences* for 26th March to 2nd April, 1647, he had announced an Independent book, in the following terms: "A book applauded by the clergy of England called the *Divine Right of Church Government Collected by Sundry Eminent Ministers in the Citie of London. Corrected and Augmented in many Places, with a Brief Reply to Certain Queries against the Ministers of England*, is printed and published for Joseph Hunscot and George Calvert and are to be sold at the Stationers Hall and at the Golden Fleece in the Old Change". He probably made no charge for this announcement, but inserted it to help his friends. The idea, however, took root, and henceforth advertisements gradually crop up in all the newsbooks.

Samuel Hartlib, the Anglo-German, tendered propositions to Parliament in 1648, asking to be appointed Superintendent-

[1] Cal. S. P. Dom., 1637-38, pp. 19, 20 and 21.

General of Offices on the model of those already described, and to be entitled "Offices of Addresse".[1] He asked to have power to demand, for every entry or extract in registers to be kept, the sum of twopence or threepence at the most, and in addition that he should be allowed £200 a year for his services, "either out of some place of profit in Oxford, according to the express order of the House of Commons, or out of the Revenues of Dean and Chapters lands," etc., and that a "convenient great house" should be allotted unto him to keep the said office in "with consideration for the furniture thereof". This not very creditable attempt to profit by other people's ideas was not successful.

Henry Walker now saw his opportunity, and stepped into the breach, in the year 1649, with the following announcement: "There is an office of Entries to be erected on Monday next for great profit and ease of the City's of London and Westminster and parts adjacent, as it is in France and other parts, where the people find great benefit by it. And for 4d. any person may both search and record his entry and have notice of a Chapman or what is desired. 1. Whether he be to sell, let, mortgage, Lands, houses, leases, plate, jewels, chattells, goods, printed tickets for public debts, and merchandise of all sorts whatsoever, or such as will disburse money upon such securities. 2. To be entertained as Gentlemen's Chaplaines, Secretaries, Stuards etc. and also Gentlewomen nurses, servants etc. 3. To make known the time of their setting forth of any ships for what part they are bound and where passengers etc. may repaire to the merchants or owners for commerce and contract. And so coaches etc. 4. In sum, whatsoever is made known to the publique by expensive way of Bills posted or otherwise may be speedily known for the said 4d. onely and no more charges. The office is to be opened on

[1] His first publication seems to be lost, but the second is entitled *A Further Discoverie of the Office of Publick Addresse for Accomodations*. London, 1648. His *Cornucopia* of later date refers to it.

Munday morning next, at the Fountain in Kings Street and so continually day after day, where the clerks are to be at all times ready to make searches and entries."[1]

Three weeks later he informs his readers: "There are many things now daily brought to the Enterance at the Fountain in Kings Street. All those who have tickets for publique faith monies or printed tickets for soldiers" (the two old grievances of "public faith" and "free quarter") "may be directed there where to have present monies for them. Divers that have lands or houses to sell or mortgage and others that buy come to the Enterance daily. And divers that have household stuffe to sell, also others that would lay jewels to pawn, gentlemen that want servants and servants that want places for any business it is but 4 pence the Enterance and doth much good in bringing the buyer and seller speedily together though with that small sum of 4 pence onely."[2]

Walker was not a man to allow the grass to grow under his feet, and he now pushed his Office of Entries in a remarkable way. Previously he had made vain attempts to set up as an Hebrew lecturer, apparently more in order to satisfy his vanity and thirst for notoriety than for any other reason, and

[1] *Perfect Occurrences*, No. 137, 10th-17th August, 1649, p. 1216.

[2] The *Man in the Moon's* comment on this is amusing if coarse: "Bee it known unto all men by these presents. That a house of Entries is now erected at Westminster where if any man want a . . . Theefe to serve him, hee may there find their names and lodgings recorded and this for ease and benefit of the State. . . . Be it known also, that at Bednal Green Sir Balthazar Gerbier, a man that pretends to all arts and Sciences yet no more master of any than Henry Walker his great companion is of Hebrew opens the Academy (that is his store house of impertinences and nonsence) on Wed. the 29th inst. where all may be welcome (for their moneys) except only a friend of Sir John Danvers whom he suspects for stealing his jewels. I am loath to name the partie because of the neare relation that is betwixt them, but Henry Walker will tell you where some of the rings were sold in Foster Lane, and for how much if he bee not fee'd to hold his peace." Walker had received an invitation to the opening of Gerbier's Academy, and was immensely proud of it, and advertised for Gerbier a theft of jewels which took place on the occasion.

he now announced a course of public Hebrew lectures "for nothing at the Fountain, Kings Street in the Great Hall under the Enterance Office,"[1] and, as the particulars of the good things to be found at his "Enterance Office" about this time include "*many that want to rent livings* within fifty miles of London," there is no doubt that he was adding a small simoniacal practice to his many other occupations. He had actually recorded in 1648, in the following terms, an astounding word of commendation given to him at one of these lectures: "Dr. Waideson of both the Universities and Physitian of the College of London in name of the whole company was pleased to give me this encouragement (for I read the lecture every night myselfe) *Quod tu sinistre legis nos dextre accipimus*".[2]

The fee charged for inserting an advertisement in a newsbook at this time was sixpence. The *Man in the Moon* writes of Walker's "Westminster catterwaule called *Perfect Occurrences*, bumbasted out with a bill of mortality and the *sixpenny* story of a man that lost a wall eyed mare at Islington when the thief himself" (Walker) "stool her to carry his fardle of nonsence heresy and blasphemy to Uxbridge to infect his parish with the national sin of Atheisme"; and the same periodical, in alluding to "Peck the Perfect Diurnal maker," mentions "the last page which most commonly he lets out to the Stationers for sixpence a piece to place therein the titles of their books—the *Most Famous History of Tom Tumb; Long Meg of Westminster or Mr. Cook's Dream*, and are to be sold John an Oakes at the sign of the three Loggerheads in Pudding-Py Lane where Walker pawned his bible for a pint of heavenly metheglin, and Peck was beholding to his printer to pay for halfe a pound of pudding for his dinner after he had made a shift to reach 'Finis'".[3]

[1] *Perfect Occurrences*, No. 143, 21st-28th September, 1649, p. 1324.

[2] *Perfect Occurrences*, 20th-27th October, 1648, p. 705. The lecture took place, "Not in the taverne as some mistake," (The Owle?) "but at a private house next doore to it".

[3] *Man in the Moon*, No. 23, 26th September to 10th October, 1649, p. 200; and *ibid.*, No. 57, 29th May to 5th June, 1650, p. 426.

In and after the year 1649, therefore, advertisements became universal in the newsbooks; but they were confined to books, an occasional quack medicine, runaway servants and apprentices, and things lost or stolen—especially horses. For other purposes advertising offices were used, and it is clear that the author of a newsbook did not desire too many advertisements for fear of being accused of "bumbasting it out".

The terminology employed is interesting, and it is to be noted that the word "advertisement," which meant special notice, was not used in our modern sense until about 1660 or later. The term adopted was "advice," and of this we shall have to describe a very curious derivative. The terms "advertising" and "advertiser" are of a later date altogether, "advertiser" not being known until the next century. "Siquis" seems to have been occasionally employed for an advertisement, being taken from the words "If any one," with which announcements, particularly of the "Hue and Cry" order commenced.[1]

The advertisements were as much a subject of derision as the newsbooks and their authors themselves. "Besides all Iterations, Petitions, Epistles, News at home and abroad rayling and praying in one breath (two grand helps which they never want) they have now found out another quaint device in their trading," writes Samuel Sheppard.[2] "There is never a mountebank who either by professing of Chymistry, or any other Art drains money from the people of the nation, but these arch-cheats have a share in the booty, and besides filling up of his paper (which he knew not how to do otherwise) he must have a feeling to authorise the Charletan, forsooth, by putting him in the News-book. There he gives you a Bill of his Cures, and because the fellow cannot lye

[1] For example: "*The Downfall of Mercurius Britanicus, Pragmaticus, Politicus, that three headed Cerberus,*" in which it is said of Nedham and his *Hue and Cry* after the King in "*Britanicus*"

His cursed Siquis ne'er will be forgotten
Against his Prince, when he is dead and rotten.

[2] *Mercurius Mastix*, No. 1, 20th-27th August, 1652, p. 7.

sufficiently himself, he gets one of these to do't for him and then be sure it passes for currant, just like those who being about to sell a diseased or stolen horse in Smithfield, are fain to get a Voucher who will say or swear anything they please for sixpence. But why should we be angry with them for this? For it is commonly truer than the rest of their news. Nay they have taken the Cryers trade from them, for all stolen goods must be inserted in these pamphlets—the fittest place for them, all theirs being stolen they do so filch from one another. I dare be bold to say they confer notes. And then judge you whether this be not fine cozenage, when we have that in ten or twelve pamphlets, which would hardly fill up a page in one?"

In April, 1650, a second advertising agent appeared in one Adolphus Speed, presumably because of the total suppression of the licensed newsbooks at that time. He set up his office, which he called an office of "Generall Accomodations by Addresse," "att Mr. Fisher's House in King Streete within the Covent Garden," and issued an elaborate and amusing prospectus[1] with a list of advertisements in it which he called "Discoveries". On 29th September, 1650, Henry Robinson, a merchant and writer on economics of the city, issued the prospectus of an office, which seems to have filled the functions of a modern registry office for servants, entitled "The Office of Adresses and Encounters" situated in "Threadneedle St. over against the Castle Tavern, close to the Old Exchange". He announces: "the poore" should have all the services he promised done for them in charity, and "all others for sixpence a time, or entry, so often as their turn is served. And for this purpose, the said office shall be kept open every day (except the Lords Day) from 8 of the clock till 12 at noone, and from 2 to 6 in the evening."[2]

[1] "Generall Accomodations by Addresse," 26th April, 1650. The address is from a note in the author's handwriting on Thomason's copy.

[2] "The Office of Adresses and Encounters where people of each Rancke and Quality may receive directions," etc., 29th September, 1650, by Henry Robinson.

After the final suppression of the licensed newsbooks in 1655, Marchamont Nedham seems fully to have realised the fact that he could charge advertisers in his newsbooks exactly what he chose; consequently he raised the price of an advertisement from sixpence to half a crown, an excessive sum for the times.[1]

Complaints were probably frequent; hence in the year 1657 a remarkable development took place, and it was decided to publish a periodical consisting entirely of advertisements.

On 14th May, 1657, a broadsheet prospectus was issued, entitled "The Offices of Public Advice newly set up in Several Places in London and Westminster. By Authority."[2]

This prospectus, after a preamble similar to those already cited, announced a "book of Intelligence in print" wherein all the "particular occasions" entered at the offices to be instituted should be publicly sold every Tuesday morning at any stationer's shop, and that fees in future would only be taken of one of the parties to a bargain and not of both as in "the blinde way of addresses heretofore made use of". "The undertakers" bound themselves "to print each advice so entered four weekes together in the same book," after which the fees were to be renewed.

The fees were distinctly heavy, and a curious fact is that it does not seem to have occurred to the promoters to charge for space or the number of words. Important "advices," or those by important people, seem *ipso facto* to have been given capital letters and more space, that is all.

[1] *Mercurius Politicus. A Private Conference between Scot and Needham Concerning the Present Affairs of the Nation*, 1660. One of his nicknames was the "Devil's half-crown newsmonger".

[2] Also advertised in *Mercurius Politicus* for 7th-14th May, 1657, p. 7796, and the *Publick Intelligencer* for 11th-18th May. Date of prospectus from the *Publick Intelligencer*, 18th-25th May, p. 1373. See also an article by the present writer in the *Nineteenth Century and After*, November, 1907, on "The Early History of London Advertising".

Advertisements of ships leaving port or to be sold, etc., were charged for at the rate of 6s. per month's advices, and if the ship was of more than 100 tons a penny per ton was the charge.

Those of ship's tackling, rigging, and furniture for sale, if under £30 in value, 5s.; if over, a penny per pound for the overplus.

For lands and houses to be sold, mortgaged, or purchased a penny per pound in value was charged—if to be let 5s. and a penny per pound overplus if of more than £30 rent.

Also advertisements of any merchandise to be sold were charged in the same way, 5s. being the ordinary fee and a penny per pound for the overplus of £30 in value.

Those advertising for employment and miscellaneous matters were charged as follows, a month's advertisements being given for the fee :—

Ships' Officers, and apprentices to any calling, etc. . .	6s.
Common Seamen	3s.
"Petti" schoolmasters, nurses, workmen, journeymen, etc.	4s.
Physitians (*i.e.*, including quack medicines) . . .	10s.
Books to be printed or intended to be printed . .	5s.

Professors of Sciences, teachers of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, English, French, Italian, Dutch, or any other languages; tutors and governors for noblemen or gentlemen; schoolmasters or schoolmistresses of the better sort; writing masters, dancing masters, singing masters, lute or guittare masters; stewards, bailiffs of manors; secretaries, gentlemen ushers; book-keepers, cash-keepers, clerks of counsellors; Justices of the Peace, Attorneys, solicitors, scriveners, brewers, woodmongers, etc., were charged 10s.

To proprietors of stage-coaches the charge was 8s.; to those of hackney-coaches, 6s.; and for advertising runaway servants and apprentices, 8s.

The following eight offices were set up :—

1. In East Smithfield near St. Katherine's by the waterside, at one Mr. Greens a chirurgion at the Signe of the Hamburgh Arms, over against the signe of the White Lion.

2. In Sherburn Lane's end, next to Lumbard St. at one Mr. Gasses, over against the White Hart.

3. In Barbican, at one Mr. Peryam's, over against the sign of the George, next door to the sign of the Pomegranate.

4. In Fullers rents in Holborn, at one Mr. Tho. Slaynets, at the Three Arrows.

5. In White-Friers, at the Entry, next to the Green Dragon Tavern, at one Mr. Gee's over against the sign of the Black Bull Head.

6. In the Strand, at one Mistress Salisburies, at the sign of the White Swan with two necks, over against the sign of the Cross Keys by York House.

7. In Westminster, In Kings Street, at one Mr. Hudsons, at the sign of the Half Moon, between the Rose Crown and the Black Bell.

8. In Southwark, at Mr. Newtons, at the sign of the Queens Head Inn, on St. Margarets Hill.

Nos. 1 and 4 were open on Wednesdays and Fridays from 8 to 11 A.M.; No. 2 from 12 P.M. to 4; and No. 5 from 2 to 5 P.M. on Wednesdays and Fridays; Nos. 6 and 8 were open on Thursdays and Saturdays from 8 to 11 A.M.; and Nos. 3 and 7 were open on Thursdays and Saturdays from 2 to 5 P.M. From this it is evident that two clerks were sufficient for all the offices.

On 26th May, 1657, No. 1 of the "book" appeared. It had as catchword the *Publick Adviser*, probably a unique use of the last word which was evidently adapted from "advice". The *Publick Adviser* was exactly the same size (two sheets = sixteen pages) as Nedham's newsbooks, and was published at the same price—a penny. It is a most interesting periodical, and contains a variety of announcements of all kinds which give a valuable picture of the life of the time. Advertisements of nurses, stage-coaches, carriers, schoolmasters, tutors, serving-men, valets, lodgings and physitians (one describes himself as no mountebank or mercurialist) all appear, in addition to the predominating

notices of ships departing the port of London and houses to be sold and let. No publication of equal importance appeared again until near the end of the century, and it is remarkable for containing the first trade advertisements, that of coffee (on 26th May) and of chocolate (on 16th June). "An advertisement of importance" (the contrast in terminology is curious) tells its subscribers that there is no necessity to enter their "occasions" in their own names.

In the meantime, Captain Robert Innes's dormant patent held good, and still had a lengthy period to run, since an Act of Parliament in 1648, and an order in Cromwell's "Council" of 1653 confirmed all King Charles I.'s grants. Captain Innes's widow, therefore, found a purchaser for it in one Oliver Williams, who was a buyer of speculations of the kind, and who no doubt envied the high fees which the "Public Advice" Offices were charging for their monopoly. He and others are many times mentioned in the State Papers with reference to another assignment, that of a patent for ship's ballast, which seems at last to have been declared legally invalid. There was, however, no doubt about Captain Innes's patent; therefore on 26th May he also issued a broadsheet, "A Prohibition to all Persons who have set up any Offices called by the names of Addresses, Publique Advice or Intelligence".

In this he took the legal standpoint, that the fees charged by the Offices of "Public Advice" were contrary to law, as in his own grant they were to be voluntary; and he also denied their right to exist at all. On 16th June another "advertisement" appeared in the *Publick Adviser*, denying *pro formâ* the claims of Oliver Williams, but in this the fees were waived altogether, and the amount to be paid was left for agreement between the office clerks and the clients. Williams seems then to have issued a prospectus of his own, and on 13th July appeared his own book, the *Weekly Information from the Office of Intelligence*, which set up the following six "Offices of Intelligence":—

1. St. Katherines at one Mr. Streets, a corner house, near the Hartshorn Brewhouse daily from 8 to 12 A.M.

2. Thredneedle St. next dore to the Ship Tavern daily from 8 to 6.

3. At Bentley's Rents, Holborn Court in Grayes Inne at one Mr. Nathaniel Littons house, daily from 8 to 6.

4. At Mr. Hunts house next to the Sun Tavern, over against Chancery Lane end Holborn, from 2 to 6 P.M.

5. At Charing Cross at Mr. Bisakers house, next door to Charing Cross Tavern from 8 to 12 A.M.

6. In Southwark at one Mr. Skirm's near the Talbot Inne, over against St. Margaret's Hill from 2 to 6 P.M.

The hours of attendance show that three clerks would be sufficient for the working of these offices.

Very probably legal proceedings now took place, and, if so, it would seem reasonable to conclude, that the monopoly of the "Public Advice" Offices must have been overruled and Williams's patent declared valid. He was not, however, permitted to publish a "book," and the *Weekly Information* was limited to one number. All the offices eventually collapsed, in spite of the gradual reduction of their number; for two years later, when Williams appeared as a journalist for the Rump, he speaks of "reviving" his Office of Intelligence. The restriction in his patent, that no definite fees were to be charged, a restriction eventually acknowledged to be good by the *Publick Adviser*, must have been fatal to the success of the undertakings from a commercial point of view.

The remainder of the history of advertising is closely connected with that of the newsbooks of 1660.

CHAPTER X.

1659 TO 1666.

THE death of Cromwell on 3rd September, 1658, and the calling of a Parliament by his son Richard on 27th January, 1659, renewed the struggle between the army leaders and the Commons. Marchamont Nedham had been so thorough-going an advocate of Cromwell and his policy that he could not hope to pass unscathed in the contest for supremacy which now ensued, and an end was at once put to his monopoly. The majority in the "Rump"—as the Parliament was now contemptuously termed—was strongly Anabaptist, and this fact was marked by the reappearance of the *Faithfull Scout* on 29th April, and the *Weekly Post* on 10th May, both issued by the same bookseller, George Horton (one of those imprisoned in 1653), and both apparently written by Daniel Border. On 10th May the *Weekly Intelligencer of the Commonwealth* was also permitted to reappear.

Nedham, who had made a good many enemies by his partisanship of Cromwell, was now denounced as "a lying railing Rabshakeh" and a "defamer of the Lord's people". Attacks were made on his moral character, and his removal was demanded from his position as author of the official diurnals. On 13th May, 1659, the Commons, accordingly, discharged him from "writing the weekly intelligence," and in his place appointed an old Anabaptist printer and preacher, one John Canne. Nedham, as Anthony à Wood tells us, commenced a periodical of his own, the *Moderate Informer*, published each Thursday, in opposition to *Mercurius Politicus*, but apparently it was suppressed after the second number; and he then turned his attention to recovering his place in

the good graces of the Parliament by writing a book in support of their cause.

Canne did not give satisfaction, and, from 16th and 19th July respectively, the *Scout* and *Post* were marked "published by special authority". Thomas Scot, the Regicide, now Secretary of State in Thurloe's place, had the management of the newsbooks, and may have salaried their writers in order to prevent any Royalist competition. Nedham's disgrace was Oliver Williams's opportunity, and, as he tells us, he at once "revived" his Office of Intelligence "at the Old Exchange in Cornhill," and commenced a biweekly periodical, entitling the Friday's newsbook *A Particular Advice*, etc., and *Occurrences from Foreign Parts*, etc., and reversing the order of the two titles for his Tuesday's edition. The two first numbers were dated respectively 30th June and 5th July. From 29th July they also were "published by authority". and at the same time added to the "advices" and foreign news "a true account of the daylie occurrences at Westminster". Advertisements naturally predominated in these periodicals; which Nedham, Williams tells us, attempted to suppress, confident, probably, of his ability to regain his lost post, and they contain some amusing leading articles in which, like Henry Walker, he occasionally quotes Hebrew. Williams "kept up a constant correspondence" with Thomas Scot, and these two periodicals may now be considered as taking the lead so long as the Rump Parliament remained in power.

On 17th August Nedham's book appeared. It was aimed against any project of restoring King Charles II., and bore the title *Interest will not Lie*. One Royalist pamphleteer amusingly remarked that it was its own confutation, for two days previously he had been restored to his office and *Politicus* and the *Publick Intelligencer* became his once more.

In the meantime, while the dispute for power between the army leaders and the Rump proceeded on its way, the strong man in Scotland, George Monck, was slowly forming his plans. To his lasting honour it can be said, that he kept

steadily before his eyes as his main object the avoidance of shedding any more blood, and to his skilfully concealed plans is due the astounding fact that the will of the nation was once more made to prevail, and that the King was brought back to his throne, without the loss of a single man's life. In the steps which he took to effect this, journalism played its part; for General Monck had his own periodicals, written by a writer whom he could trust.

Monck had married Anne, the widow of a Strand tradesman called Radford, and sister of Thomas Clarges, who practised as an apothecary in the Strand. Both were devoted Royalists, and it is to them that the selection of a writer for the royal cause was confided. Their choice fell on Henry Muddiman, who was also the son of a Strand tradesman, Edward Muddiman, and was thus evidently well known to them. He was baptised at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields on 5th February, 1629, and was admitted a pensioner at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1647. Up to the time when he began to issue his *Parliamentary Intelligencer* and *Mercurius Publicus*, in secret opposition to Nedham's *Politicus* and *Publick Intelligencer*, he had been a schoolmaster, and, as he states, "never writ anything of this sort before". When Clarges left Scotland at the end of November, 1659, it had been decided by Monck and himself that the press should be utilised, and that Henry Muddiman and not William Clarke, Monck's secretary, should be the person to give the General's documents to the world. From this date, therefore, the plan was set in motion which was to restore to the King his rights, and to make simple Anne Clarges a duchess, her brother a baronet, and Henry Muddiman the privileged journalist of the Restoration.

Monck, at this juncture, evidently did not trust Cromwell's nominee, and a literary adviser and amanuensis of some sort was necessary; for his education, as Clarendon states, was but "Dutch and Devonshire". Clarges's literary acquirements, judging from his unacknowledged pamphlet

"Hypocrites Unmasked," also appear to have been of the poorest kind. On the occasion when he met Muddiman, Pepys remarked that he was a "good scholar," and Pepys was proposed by him as a member of the Rota Club, though it is clear that Muddiman did not trust Pepys with his reason for adopting the career of journalist, since Pepys called him also a rogue for speaking basely of the Rump though "he wrote newsbooks for them". Muddiman's newsbooks, however, which had only been in existence a few days at the time, were not official, and would have been suppressed but for the fact that it was known who was behind him. As they advocated a free Parliament, Pepys must soon have discovered his mistake in thinking that he wrote newsbooks for the Rump.[1]

About the same time that the *Parliamentary Intelligencer* was commenced in London, Captain Goodwin, one of Monck's officers, appears to have commenced the *Faithfull Intelligencer from the Parliaments Army in Scotland*, written at Edinburgh, also with the object of attacking Nedham. This periodical has the distinction of being the first purely Scottish newsbook, written as well as printed in Scotland. Clarges also probably brought down with him from Scotland Giles Dury, as assistant for Muddiman. Dury is never heard of again after the Restoration, when, as Wood writes, he "gave over" writing the newsbooks, and he must have been employed as assistant in order to leave Muddiman free to edit Monck's documents.

The famous "Remonstrance and Address of the Army," first presented to Monck on 9th April, 1660, by which the

[1] For Muddiman's antecedents—Williams's attack in *An Exact Accompt*, No. 103, 22nd-29th June, 1660, and the former's reply in the *Parliamentary Intelligencer*, No. 27, 25th June to 2nd July, 1660. That the newsbooks were issued under Clarges's direction appears from his letter to Gumble on 26th December, 1659 (the day of issue of the first number) (Leyborne-Popham MSS., 1899, p. 137). Clarges's letter also refers to Captain Goodwin. Pepys made Muddiman's acquaintance on 9th January. Pepys was Downing's clerk at the time.

officers pledged themselves to obey whatever the forthcoming free Parliament should decide, and owing to which all bloodshed was avoided, bears a direction on its title-page from Monck to Henry Muddiman to publish it. As it seems clear that the "Remonstrance" was framed by Clarges, Henry Muddiman must have settled its wording and final form, as he did that of many other documents. It is for this reason that his uncle, Sir William Muddiman, was given a place of honour at the Coronation Review on 7th May, 1661, and command of the Lord Mayor's "troop of horse," all citizens;[1] for this reason also, after the Restoration, he became sole privileged journalist of the kingdom, and was granted the privilege of free postage for his letters like the officers of State.[2] But he chiefly earned his reputation as a writer of newsletters, of which an immense number (more than those of all other writers put together) exists.[3] From the founding of the *Gazette*, until his death in 1692, he was little less than an institution, and the reason why up to the present he has been forgotten is because he devoted himself entirely to journalism, was not a pamphleteer, and engaged in no controversies. One quarrel he had, and that entailed the decisive and lasting discomfiture of a future Secretary of State—Sir Joseph Williamson. He was the first editor, and practically the founder, of one periodical still in existence—the modern Government organ entitled the *London Gazette*; and therefore the story of this patriarch of English journalism is of more than ordinary interest.

The Long Parliament came to an end on 16th March,

[1] *Historical MSS. Commission*, 5th Report, App., p. 203.

[2] S. P. Dom. Charles II., 160, No. 149, para. 1, and 139, No. 61.

[3] The Marquis of Bath has in his library at Longleat a complete collection of Muddiman's newsletters from 29th April, 1667, to 12th October, 1689, the dates being alternate days, contained in fourteen folio volumes, formerly the property of Mrs. Muddiman. It is impossible to overestimate the value of this collection, and it is to be hoped that Lord Bath will permit their publication. For an example (chosen in order to show the extent of the writer's correspondence) see Appendix B., p. 211.

1660, and one of the first acts of Monck's Council of State, which governed the kingdom pending the assembling of the free Parliament that recalled the King, was to get rid of Marchamont Nedham.

The *Parliamentary Intelligencer*, No. 14, 26th March to 2nd April, 1660, was marked "Published by order of the Council of State," and commenced as follows:—

"Whereas Marchamont Nedham, the author of the weekly news-books called *Mercurius Politicus*, and the *Publique Intelligencer*, is, by order of the Council of State discharged from writing or publishing any publique intelligence. The reader is desired to take notice, that by order of the said Council Giles Dury and Henry Muddiman are authorised henceforth to write and publish the said intelligence the one upon the Thursday and the other upon the Monday which they do intend to set out under the titles of the *Parliamentary Intelligencer* and of *Mercurius Publicus*."[1]

The next number, published on 9th April, corrected the mistake in the order of the two periodicals, giving *Mercurius Publicus* its correct position as the Thursday's newsbook, and contained the following addition: "At the Council of State. Whitehall. Ordered. That the master and wardens of the Stationers Company London are hereby required to take care that no books of intelligence be printed and published on Mondays or Thursdays weekly other than such as are put forth by Mr. Henry Muddiman and Mr. Giles Dury, who have an allowance in that behalf from the Council of State. Signed by the Clerk of the Council."

Marchamont Nedham continued the publication of *Politicus* and the *Publick Intelligencer*, in spite of the order dismissing him, until 9th and 12th April respectively, when he absconded and his journalistic career came to an end. He took refuge

[1] *Whitelocke's Memorials* are wrong as to date. Dury has been reputed as the nominal writer of the *Parliamentary Intelligencer* owing to the mistake in the order here quoted—it was *Publicus* for which he was responsible.

in Holland, and Anthony à Wood states that a little later "for money given to an hungry courtier obtained his pardon under the great seal, which was his defence oftentimes, particularly at Oxford Act in 1661, when several set upon him in St. Mary's Church to hale him before a justice, and so to prison for treason. He afterwards exercised the faculty of physic to his dying day among the brethren, which was a considerable benefit to him. He was a person endowed with quick natural parts, was a good humanitian, poet, and a boon droll, and had he been constant to his cavaleering principles he would have been beloved by and admired of all, but being mercenary and valuing money and sordid interest rather than conscience, friendship, or love to his prince, was much hated by the royal party to the last."

He died in Devereux Court, Temple Bar, in 1678, and was buried near the entrance to the chancel of the Church of St. Clement Danes, Strand. He was no patriarch of journalism, invented nothing, originated nothing, and his name is chiefly to be associated with the retrogressive and decadent *Mercurius Politicus*. Even Henry Walker was greater as a journalist than Nedham.

Oliver Williams, however, thought that he saw another chance in Nedham's final ruin. Immediately appropriating the catchwords of *Mercurius Politicus* and *Publick Intelligencer*, he commenced two new periodicals with those names, in which the full title of Nedham's periodicals was varied, and which now professed to communicate *advertisements* from the three kingdoms, and were dated from Williams's "Office of Intelligence" near the Old Exchange. The fact that he was able to do this without a week's delay points to some arrangement in the matter. At the same time he announced an advertising innovation, in the shape of "tables," or notice boards, to be hung up in various parts of London and Westminster. On 21st February, 1660, he had also commenced a daily report of the proceedings in the House of Commons, which he entitled the *Perfect Diurnal*. This lasted until

16th March—the day of the Long Parliament's dissolution, and was the first daily English news periodical.

Williams's journalistic activity warrants the suspicion that there was a good deal more in his plans than meets the eye, for the advertising notice boards would have formed an excellent means of communication for malcontents. The Council of State's second order, prohibiting any competition with Muddiman and Dury, was also disregarded by him and, referring to his assignment of Captain Innes's patent, he marked his newsbooks "Published by authority," which elicited a protest from Muddiman, who termed his newsbooks "idle pamphlets". It will be remembered that Captain Innes's patent contained no reference to newsbooks at all, so that his claim in any case was a false one. Nevertheless, when the King returned and the Council of State's authority to Muddiman expired, Williams felt himself in a position to attack him, and with considerable impudence raised a claim under this very patent to the sole right of publishing newsbooks, called his rival a "Priscianus verberans et vapulans" because he had drawn attention to some of his mistakes, and stated that he could not forget "his former pedantick whipping occupation".[1] He also accused Muddiman of having styled the King, in the earlier numbers of his newsbook, the "pretended King of England," and of having alluded to the "titular Dukes of York and Gloucester," and expressed a hope that "in these better regulated times he will want a Thurloe to support him in his unjust usurpations". From this it is fairly evident that Thurloe, on returning to office as Secretary of State, had prevented Muddiman's newsbooks from being suppressed together with the *Scout*, *Post*, etc.

Muddiman replied, terming Williams's attack "pittiful foolery," and added: "To those that know me, I need make no apology, to those that do not—it will be easy enough to

[1] *An Exact Accompt*, No. 103, 22nd-29th June, 1660, p. 1006, and the *Parliamentary Intelligencer*, 25th June to 2nd July, 1660, p. 430.

tell them that I never writ anything of this sort till entreated to it, for a just vindication of his Excellency and his army, to give faithful intelligence of their transactions which were at that time so basely and falsely represented by the Pamphleteers then in being. His Excellency was then pleased to send me severall of his papers to commit to the press, which, when known to the world, any sober discreet man may judge with what cautiousness and design I must behave myself, with what reluctancy to myself I was forced sometimes to imitate this very fellow (I mean no further though than in writing) to free myself from the inquisition of his prying master" (Scot) "who imployed such busie instruments to entrap men. How could I then safely represent the numbers that desir'd a free Parliament if not in a disguise, which however was necessary should be done to balance those things he so often foisted in and crowded week after week in his books, such as his Barebones Petition and that pretended to be the Watermens, which suspition might not a naked simplicity have cast upon the master I wrote for. This, though his shallowness cannot reach, wise men have thought meritorious."

Referring to Williams's patent he continued, "I confess I have never yet seen his power, but—I'le tell him my opinion of it, that he may have power to keep a shop or stall to give information of money to be laid out in Bomaria" (bottomry bonds—ships' mortgage) "or where a man may with most security venture to have his corns cut, or what house is to be let on the Bank side, where young men and old matrons may hire maidservants and that bargains are to be made there, but how this entitles him to Press work I leave it to himself to make out". Finally, comparing him to Nedham, whom Williams had abused, he wound up with: "corruptio unius est generatio alterius—Sir Politick would be, might have been civiller to his godfather for surely he gave him his name, but no wonder if he be irreverent to him, that shew'd so much ingratitude to his late Patron".

This was enough. Williams had drawn attention to his proceedings, and to the other periodicals which were springing up—Walker's *Occurrences*, and a *Mercurius Veridicus*, which, with his own *Votes of both Houses*, had also attracted the attention of the House of Commons as reporting their debates inaccurately. The royal prerogative, already mentioned, in the circulation of news was evidently acted upon, and all newsbooks other than the *Parliamentary Intelligencer* and *Mercurius Publicus* were suppressed. Henry Muddiman alone retained the field and continued to hold it until the autumn of the year 1663.

It is to be noticed that in spite of the suppression of the newsbooks, the press itself was now free. The whole of the "Ordinances" and Acts since the abolition of the Star Chamber had melted into thin air. Cromwell's Inquisition of Three, under the order of 28th August, 1655, and his Act of 7th January, 1653, were now of no effect, and there were no penalties. Some process of licensing was necessary, but the newsbooks had greater liberty than Nedham's, which were revised by a Secretary of State.[1]

Sir John Berkenhead, the former writer of *Aulicus*, was appointed Master of the Faculties on 2nd November, 1660, and, as this was an ecclesiastical office, he appears henceforth to have acted as a licenser, by analogy with the ancient jurisdiction of the Star Chamber. Until the passing of the Licensing Act of 1662, people must have brought their books to him, in order to protect their copyright, though, as we have shown, there was considerable doubt as to their right to this at Common Law. He licensed Henry Muddiman's newsbooks, presumably under the royal prerogative, during the year 1660, from the date of his appointment as Master of the Faculties, and probably continued to license them after that

[1] "The *Publick Intelligencer* and *Merc. Polit.* . . . being revised by the Secretary of State have many copies of my letters in them" (Hartlib to Dr. Worthington, 20th November, 1655, *Diary and Correspondence of Dr. John Worthington*, Chetham Society, vol. xiii., pp. 60, 61).

year. There is little, however, to show that he invariably did this, for, although Muddiman's printers entered their newsbooks in the Stationers' Registers during the year 1660, in the following years they did not continue the entry.[1] The Stationer's Registers now became quite valueless, as there was no necessity to register anything.

But for one circumstance, therefore, Henry Muddiman was in a far more enviable position as journalist than any of his predecessors. This circumstance was the resolution of the House of Commons passed on 25th June, 1660, *that no person whatsoever do presume at his peril to print any votes or proceedings of this House without the special leave and order of this House.*[2] The newsbooks were thus deprived of their mainstay, and, as no general permission to report parliamentary proceedings in print was granted until the close of the century, the reason for the valuelessness of the periodicals printed in the reign of King Charles II. is apparent.

When Cromwell was in power similar circumstances had given rise to a great development of the written intelligence at the expense of the newsbooks; as the numbers of letters of news to be found among the Clarke Papers and the value attached to them clearly prove. Not until two years after Henry Muddiman's death were the newsletters also placed under a ban by the House of Commons, and from the fact that no such ban was placed on the newsletters during his lifetime the commanding position which he held as journalist can be gauged. His privilege of free postage placed would-be competitors at a hopeless disadvantage.

[1] The only evidence of his continuing to license them is his statement, that he "suffered nothing to come forth" in the newsbooks on the occasion of Secretary Nicholas's retirement in October, 1662 (Egerton MSS., 2538, ff, 186, 189.) It is hardly necessary to say, that statistics of the output of the press drawn up from the Stationers' Register after the Restoration are of little use.

[2] Commons Journals. On 9th July, 1662, the Irish Commons even complained of reports of their proceedings in the *Intelligencer* (Irish Commons Journals, ii., 91-95).

Another cause of the exemption of the newsletters from censure is to be found in their greater expense. This restricted their circulation to the upper classes and the coffee-houses (the clubs of the day), therefore there was less political danger to be apprehended from them.[1] The reorganisation of the post office and the increase in the number of posts were circumstances which also now contributed to the revival of the newsletters, and Henry Muddiman's practical monopoly of the whole news of the three kingdoms must have been exceedingly profitable.

The Licensing Act was passed in the year 1662, and came into force on 10th June for two years, afterwards being renewed as it expired. This lengthy and lenient Act did not mention the Mercury women and hawkers, who were at last left in peace, and regulated printing and bookselling besides other matters. One curious privilege was granted by it; as a special mark of favour John Streater, stationer, one of Cromwell's victims in 1653, was expressly exempted from its provisions.

The provision affecting the newsbooks was, that "all books of history, concerning the state of the realm or other books concerning any affairs of state shall be licensed by the principal secretaries of state for the time being, or one of them, or by their or one of their appointments". When the King came to the throne there were two principal Secretaries of State, Sir William Morice, appointed at General Monck's request, and Sir Edward Nicholas, an old Cavalier who had been with the King in exile. It was to the latter that Henry Muddiman attached himself, and to his Under-Secretary, Joseph Williamson, that he gave intelligence; he also received news from him, and from this circumstance it is probable that Williamson licensed Muddiman's newsbooks after the

[1] Five pounds a year was Muddiman's charge for newsletters (S.P. Dom., Charles II., 275, No. 39 (1670). The newsbooks cost a penny. These sums should be multiplied by three and a half or four in order to arrive at our own values.

passing of the Act. (Berkenhead was appointed a Master of Requests in January, 1663.)

Henry Muddiman's office for his copying clerks at this time was at the Seven Stars, in the Strand, and he sent out his letters of news from that address, heading them "Whitehall" in order to show the privilege with which he wrote; but after a time the bulk of the correspondence addressed to him arrived at Williamson's office.[1] No doubt Williamson, like the older licensers, was paid for his share in collecting Muddiman's intelligence. He did not send out letters of intelligence himself until his quarrel with the latter occurred in 1666, but was certainly in a position to furnish him with the foreign news. Probably for this reason the *Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres* was started afresh in 1663; for the first mention of this periodical occurs in a letter to Williamson in September of that year. The only post-Restoration number to be found among the State Papers is dated 3rd May.[2]

In the following year Oliver Williams, with one Sackville Greaves, was granted a small post at Bristol—the office of searcher in the Customs Office.[3] He appears, however, to have carried on his "Office of Intelligence" at the Old Exchange, for some of the *City Mercuries*—that is advertisement papers distributed gratis—were issued from this office about the year 1670. One Charles Wheler obtained the mastership of an "Office of Inquiry" in 1660, but whether this had anything to do with advertisements there is nothing to show.[4] If so, it would appear that Williams's "Intelligence Office" was suppressed, at any rate for a time.

[1] His later office was at the Peacock, in the Strand. His private house was at Brompton (Earl's Court). These addresses are taken from the numerous letters to him among the State Papers.

[2] Cal. S. P. Dom., 1663-64, p. 276, 21st September, 1663, M. de Bacquoy to Williamson, "Begs news of what passes and the *Gazette* printed in French".

[3] S. P. Dom., Charles II. 34, No. 110.

[4] S. P. Dom. 17, No. 14. The first of the *City Mercuries* was issued in 1667 by Thomas Bromhall, whose office is described in S.P. Dom., Charles II., 187, No. 265. Copies of this periodical are in the Record Office, News-

Of the other journalists of the Rebellion there is almost nothing to be said. They all sank into obscurity at the Restoration. Henry Walker, however, had to undergo one more attack from John Crouch. At the commencement of August, 1660, Walker published his last work, *Serious Observations lately made touching His Majesty King Charles II.*, with an Hebrew anagram on the title-page—"The King hath prepared a refreshing, he hath crushed it out of the rock by degrees. Published to inform the People. Per H. Walker —S.S.T.S." As might be expected, this document was of the most fawning and servile kind, referring to the King as the Hypostasis and Prosopon and to his royal father as one "whom treacherous servants slew". Crouch at the time was writing a new *Mercurius Fumigosus*, and immediately held him up to derision, concluding with "this buffle pated loggerhead, coming lately to Dunnington in Bishopgate street meeting at Sarah's handmaid's," said that "His Highness was growne fat with eating of pease and bacon since he came into England," upon which they cried out "Treason," and frightened him into paying for a breakfast which cost him 30s. by way of a bribe to hold their peace. A Henry Walker was married at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields on 5th June, 1664, to Anna Lowden, both being of the same parish.

After undergoing an unjust imprisonment on suspicion, Cleiveland had died before the Restoration. Of Sheppard nothing is known, but if he survived he is not likely to have been without preferment. Rushworth died a drunkard, in a debtors' prison.

In 1663 a new journalist supplanted Henry Muddiman. Roger l'Estrange, a Cavalier, who had suffered imprisonment and had even at one time been honourably distinguished

paper collections. Bromhall's fee for an advertisement was 2s. 6d. (S.P. Dom., Charles II., 450, No. 92). The office was situate at "The Peahen next door to the Shears opposite Summerset House over against the Maypole in the Strand".

by being sentenced to death for his loyalty, was a Royalist pamphleteer, with a most prolific and powerful pen, who had not been rewarded at the Restoration as he deserved. He had intrigued to obtain Nedham's post of journalist, and still continued his intrigues after the defeat of his hopes. A sincere advocate of the theories of Divine right, he was also a convinced High Churchman and bitterly opposed to toleration in any form. As the control of the press was ultimately placed in his hands, he has attracted from writers of the Puritan school a greater amount of obloquy than he deserves. In particular he has been singled out for odium as having obtained the condemnation of a printer named John Twyn in 1664 for high treason. John Twyn, nevertheless, met the just penalty of a crime with which the liberty of the press was entirely unconnected. He had full knowledge of the plot for a rising and for the extermination of the Royal family in 1663, refused to save his life by disclosing his author's name, and part of the document he printed is yet in existence to condemn him as a peculiarly hypocritical and dangerous criminal.[1]

[1] S. P. Dom., Charles II., vol. 88, No. 76, pages 25 to 32 inclusive of his pamphlet. It, of course, has not the faintest resemblance to Milton's "Tenure of Kings and Magistrates". It was entitled a "Treatise of the Execution of Justice," and advocated the assassination of King Charles II., the Duke of York, and the rest of the royal family, by way of retaliation for the execution of the Regicides, justifying what was suggested on Scriptural grounds. The following sentences are taken from it; "God hath not forbid us to cut off the yoke of this present tyrant. . . . The execution of judgment is a duty incumbent on the people. If a King hath shed innocent blood the law of God requires the people to put him to death." "If the blood of righteous Naboth were avenged by the Lord's people upon all the house of Ahab how much more reason is there to avenge the blood of all those centuries (*sic*) of righteous souls which these tyrants have shed since their possession of the government . . . if ever there were a season which required the Lord's people to sell their garments and buy swords it is now." The *Speeches and Prayers* of the Regicides, for the printing of which other printers were punished with Twyn, is to be found in the Thomason Collection (E. 1053 (1)), and is a

On 24th February, 1662, L'Estrange was granted a general warrant, empowering him to seize seditious books and their writers. He also asked for a general search warrant (one was drawn up but not executed), and was employed after the Restoration in generally surveying the presses and hunting out seditious books. At the same time he attracted a great deal of attention to himself by his pamphlet warfare with the Presbyterians, notably Edward Bagshawe, and continued to complain bitterly of the lack of preferment that had befallen him. He soon became a famous writer, and after the passing of the Licensing Act in 1662 was requested to draw up proposals for the regulation of the press. He accordingly drew proposals, in which he again asked for a general search warrant and for the control of all licensing, with certain exceptions. By way of remuneration he demanded a grant of the right to publish the news, and all bills and advertisements, with a fee, as licenser, of 1s. per sheet "on other works". This, of course, was an open attempt to supplant Muddiman, which he further supplemented by his "Minutes of a Project for Suppressing Libels". By means of this he proposed to bring also the written news within his grasp through the insertion of a clause in the licenses of coffee-house keepers.[1]

These two written documents were followed by his printed *Considerations and Proposals in Order to the Regulation of the Press*, which displayed the same repressive tendencies. In reward for his services his proposals were complied with, and by Royal Letters Patent the office of "Surveyor of the Press" was set up for him. Among a multitude of minor

grossly false and fictitious account, depicting them as martyrs. These and other documents, either bearing no publisher's name, or the names of Giles and Elizabeth Calvert, and Livewell Chapman, are all false and fraudulent, and part of an organised campaign of seditious printing.

[1] S. P. Dom., Charles II., 39, No. 94, and 51, No. 101. Berkenhead seems to have taken up the cudgels in Muddiman's behalf, for L'Estrange attacked the former in his *Considerations and Proposals*. See also S. P. Dom., Charles II., 70, No. 59, and 26, No. 97.

things, the patent granted him as his remuneration the sole privilege of writing, printing and publishing newsbooks and advertisements.[1] He was not, however, given the fee of 1s. a sheet on books, which he had also asked for, nor had he power to interfere with manuscripts. Muddiman's privileged newsbooks, therefore, came to an end, and henceforth he only supplied the written news. As this patent placed the control of the whole press of London into L'Estrange's hands, it is clear that the work entailed was far too much for one man; but although his newsbooks were ill served with intelligence, he made them pay.

His Monday's weekly pamphlet, the *Intelligencer*, and his Thursday's newsbook, the *Newes*, at the end of the year 1663 were paged and numbered together and made consecutive, so that it no longer sufficed to buy one, and the purchaser had to obtain both. He also reduced their size by one-half, and they only contained eight pages. No reduction in price was made, and these means enabled him to state later on that he had "trebled the value of the newsbook". Before he was ejected from his editorship, however, he brought the newsbooks back to their original size (when the Dutch war was in progress), and could thus plead "in doubling the size I doubled also the value".

These devices, and his known and declared antagonism to the publication of news, brought on him great unpopularity, and the written news henceforth began to take first rank. So great was the dissatisfaction, for L'Estrange had by now ceased writing controversial pamphlets, that an overture was even made to Nedham.[2]

[1] S. P. Dom., 78, No. 96, is a copy of the warrant directing the drawing of the grant, and dated 15th August, 1663. L'Estrange was evidently not allowed to interfere with Muddiman's newsletters, for the privilege of free postage "was denied" him and he eventually obtained it by favour of Lady Chesterfield, one of the farmers of the post office (S. P. Dom., Charles II., 139, No. 61).

[2] L'Estrange's letter to Lord Arlington, S. P. Dom., Charles II., 135, No. 8. I regret to add that the Calendar of State Papers for 1665-66 gives

In the meantime Muddiman still continued attached to the Secretary of State's office. In October, 1662, Secretary Nicholas was superseded, somewhat against his will, and Henry Bennet, subsequently created Earl of Arlington, replaced him, Joseph Williamson remaining Under-Secretary as before.

Sir Joseph Williamson, who was knighted in 1672, succeeded Arlington as principal Secretary in 1674; and was the son of a North-country clergyman and a Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. He was a very able business man, with the habit of keeping all letters and papers; hence the mass of documents he has left behind him among the State Papers renders it easy to tell the complicated story of his relations with Henry Muddiman. In character he was mean, greedy and grasping; no kindly acts are recorded of him, for he never did anything with a disinterested motive, and that his contemporaries did not hold him in honour we know from Pepys, Evelyn and Sir William Temple. Evelyn states that Lord Arlington "loving ease more than business"—"remitted all to his man Williamson . . . and so by his subtlety dexterity and insinuation he got to be principal secretary". He was poor when he started his career, and neglected no opportunity of making money, whether by taking bribes or more legitimately. From the first he had seen the importance of Henry Muddiman's correspondence, and had noted the use it would be to himself, not merely from the point of view of profit, but also as a means of political and social advancement. Hence Muddiman, up to the year 1665, is continually to be found sending letters of intelligence at "Mr. Williamsons direction".

neither an adequate nor even in some cases a truthful account of the documents it professes to describe. The preface to it must be disregarded altogether as in actual conflict with them. All the documents here referred to are described at greater length, in an article by the present writer, in the *English Historical Review* for April, 1908, entitled the "Newsbooks and Letters of News of the Restoration".

L'Estrange's unpopularity as a newsmonger suggested to Williamson the idea of "getting the public intelligence into his hands," and of retaining Henry Muddiman to write both newsbooks and letters of news, under his directions; Williamson of course to receive all profits, and to pay a salary to Muddiman. He "several times" asked the latter "for a list of his correspondents," but was "refused"; and Muddiman himself related later on that he was perfectly well aware of his motive in asking, and therefore had made up his mind not to leave Lord Arlington's office, as, while he was with him, and not with the other Secretary, Morice, Williamson could not obtain a list.

Towards the end of the year 1665 Muddiman also appears to have taken steps to have a good deal of his intelligence sent to him privately. The Court was at Oxford at the time on account of the great plague, and in October Lord Arlington had received a grant of the office of Postmaster General, therefore Williamson's influence over the post office became greater than it had been before. James Hickes, a clerk in the letter office, was one of his creatures, and could be relied upon to do anything he wished. During the Puritan times Hickes had been nine years in the post office, and on the strength of an "aged father slain at Edgehill," and more probably because he was actually necessary to the Government had been continued in his post when the King returned. He was a sycophantic hypocrite, who invariably made professions of wishing to "live to God's glory" when he was about to tell some lie or commit some mean or treacherous act, and to those then in power he was a slavish and subservient tool.

It was part of Hickes's duties to sign Muddiman's letters as franked. Williamson, therefore, determined to get the desired list of correspondents through him. With Muddiman in London there was, of course, no opportunity to carry out his design, but by engaging the latter to write a new journal at Oxford, on pretext of the Court being there,

he would attain his double object, of attacking L'Estrange, and of obtaining a clear field for Hickes to copy the addresses on Muddiman's letters as they were sent to the letter office in London. The plan was all the more treacherous, in that he himself had acted as L'Estrange's news-collector.

Having made his arrangements, he wrote to L'Estrange from Oxford on 15th October, 1665:—

"I am sorry the distance in which we are from you deprives me of the occasion of helping and directing you in the composing of the publick news as would be better for his Majesty's service and your own reputation. I have often advised you to agree with Mr. Muddiman in this matter, who having had the good luck and opportunity of falling into the channel of these things would have been very useful to you and in despair of seeing this effected in the future I take the freedom to propose to you that if you will relinquish to me your whole right in the composing and profit of the newsbook I will procure for you in recompense of it a salary from his majesty of £100 per annum, which shall be paid through my hands. . . . If I place it too low you must blame yourself for having told me several times that the duty of it is very burthensome and the profit inconsiderable."

In the greatest alarm, L'Estrange wrote a series of lengthy letters to Lord Arlington, protesting against the terms offered as inadequate. The newsbook was, he alleged, worth £400 a year, instead of the £200 at which he had found it. The quality of his employment was to "teaze and persecute the whole rabble of the faction" (that is the political and religious dissenters) "which I have done to such a degree that I have drawn upon my head all the malice imaginable," and the newsbook "was given me to balance my service about the press, and in doing my work be judge my lord if I do not deserve my wages".

His letters were not answered, and on 16th November, 1665, No. 1 of the biweekly *Oxford Gazette* appeared; licensed by the Secretary of State, Lord Arlington, in accordance with

the Licensing Act; written by Henry Muddiman; printed by the University printer Leonard Litchfield; and reprinted in London by Thomas Newcombe, the printer of the *Intelligencer*, "for the use of some merchants and gentlemen who desired them". Any question of infringement of L'Estrange's patent would have been difficult to raise at Oxford, within the privileges of the University.

The *Gazette*—"half a sheet in folio" and exactly the same size and shape as Muddiman's newsletters—was clearly designed by him to send by post with them. The news that could not be printed, such as parliamentary proceedings and the like, he intended to send in writing. It was an ingenious device, and betrays the fact that in its origin the printed "paper" of news was but auxiliary to the newsletters. Its success was immediate, and the *Gazette* was received with "general applause," Pepys remarking in his *Diary*, "Very pretty, full of newes, and no folly in it".

Forgetful of the fact that he had no written correspondence, L'Estrange even attempted, on 28th November, to imitate it with a "paper" of his own, entitled "*Publick Intelligence.* With sole Privilege," introducing it with the remarks: "By this time you may perceive my masters that your intelligencer has changed his title, his form, and his day, for which I could give you twenty shrewd reasons if I were not more obliged to gratify a point of prudence in myself than a curiosity in others, and I do assure you there is both discretion and modesty in the case. This short accompt will serve to satisfie the wise, and I shall leave the rest to content themselves at leisure."

He had to resume his *Intelligencer* and *News*, however (on 2nd and 4th and 7th December respectively), and then appealed to the King in person; a much wiser step than taking legal proceedings. Charles II. ordered that, in addition to the £100 a year for the newsbooks, which henceforth were "taken into the Secretaries office,"[1] and were to have this

[1] Not given to Williamson. Ormonde MSS., vol. iii., N.S., pp. 351-352.

sum charged on their profits, £200 a year should be paid out of the secret service money to L'Estrange for his services as Surveyor of the Press. The arrangement was an equitable one and probably the only person dissatisfied was Williamson.

The *Oxford Gazette* changed its title to the *London Gazette* with No. 24, dated Monday, 5th February, 1665-66, and after No. 25, dated 8th February, Henry Muddiman refused to have anything further to do with it, transferred himself and his correspondents to the other principal Secretary of State, Sir William Morice, and ordered all his letters to be addressed for the future to Morice's Under-Secretary John Cooke.

The reason of this is to be found in the intrigue by which Williamson, with the aid of Hickes, had endeavoured to gain over his correspondents. Each day, throughout the week beginning Monday, 27th November, 1665, Hickes had taken a list of their names and addresses, and, on sending them to Williamson, remarked that he left to him the "management" of them. The lists, which are still in existence, show a widespread correspondence of the utmost importance. Muddiman was informed of what Hickes had done, had sent his letters afterwards to another clerk to sign, one Edmond Sawtell; and at the same time had stopped a gift of four copies of his newsletters, which he had been in the habit of making to Hickes every week (Hickes had some correspondence of his own). Several venomous letters from Hickes to Williamson followed, and in the end, when he returned to London, Muddiman, as already stated, quitted Arlington's office. There is no doubt but that he had from the first been fully prepared to leave. He was quite ready for anything Williamson might do, and an attempt to stop his letters had produced no effect.

Directly Williamson found out that Muddiman was about to transfer himself to Secretary Morice, he employed Hickes to issue a circular, not daring to do it openly himself, to all the correspondents whose names had thus been secretly obtained. In this Hickes stated that Muddiman,

whose letters had formerly come franked to their hands, was

"Dismissed from the management of that correspondence he formerly was instructed with for that he hath contrived and managed that correspondence to his own particular advantage and not for the service of his majestie and those persons of honour (Arlington and Williamson), as he ought and they expected he should have done".

This was about 15th February, consequently after Muddiman had left Arlington's office; and therefore as untruthful as can well be imagined.

Hickes also went to see Monck's Secretary, Sir William Clarke, to whom he gave the same false account of a dismissal. He had no difficulty in enlisting him on Williamson's side. When Muddiman was told of what Hickes had been doing, he went in a "great huff and heat," and ordered him to recall his circular. When he saw Williamson, the latter promptly "disowned" Hickes.

Muddiman then sent out (24th February, 1666) a circular of his own in which he says:—

"Upon a misunderstanding between Mr. Williamson and myself about the *Gazette* which I wrote at Oxon and till the last week at London I thought it most advisable to quit that office wholly and turn my correspondents to Sir William Morice, his Majesty's first principal secretary of State. I shall write as fully and constantly as formerly and with the same privilege and post free."

He adds that he had detected Hickes in "some practices," and had not entrusted him with his letters to sign, "nor given him as formerly a copy of my letters to write after but as he is disowned in it by those he pretends orders from so I shall make him sensible of the forgery".

The forgery was the attempt of Hickes to pass off his own letters of news, which he was now writing for Williamson, in lieu of Muddiman's privileged letters.

Hickes's reply to this was characteristic. He at once

drew up a petition to both Secretaries of State, asking that Muddiman might be ordered to "repair" him for the charge of forgery (which he extended in such a way as to make it appear as if he had been accused of malpractices not connected with the newsletters). He had discharged his duties, he remarked, "as in the presence of Almighty God".

Sir William Morice was not *persona grata* with the King, like the favourite Arlington, and was clearly not expected to interfere and perhaps not even to see the petition. He did intervene, however, and Hickes was ordered to draw up a statement of his case. In this document he contrived to expose himself thoroughly;[1] and changing his ground, accused Muddiman of sending out letters of "other business in which neither the King nor himself were concerned to the end that they might go free," stating that there was "not one letter in answer to most of those he sent—receiving stipends of from 40s. to £40 per person".

All the time that this had been going on Williamson had kept himself in the background, and it is only Hickes's letters to him that reveal the fact that he really was directing the latter's attack on Muddiman. Animus against Sir William Morice was not wanting, and Muddiman was accused of belittling Arlington by styling Morice "first" (*i.e.*, original) Secretary of State. Hickes's attempts to stop Muddiman's letters, and Williamson's attempt to rescind his privilege of free postage, had from the first been frustrated by Secretary Morice's special order, and another clerk in the letter office —Hall—had signed Muddiman's letters as franked. In the meantime Charles Perrot, of Oriel College, had been writing the *Gazette* under Williamson's directions.[2]

Secretary Morice at last administered a severe rebuff to

[1] "Narrative of the Discourse betwixt Mr. Henry Muddiman and James Hickes senior, concerning his Correspondence" (S. P. Dom., Charles II., 160, No. 145).

[2] Perrot arranged to see Williamson on 7th February, 1666, in a letter dated 4th February. Wood says that he wrote the *Gazette*, though not constantly, until 1671.

Williamson, and from the complete silence into which Hickes then subsided we gather that he must have threatened to punish the latter. Muddiman was authorised to issue a second official "paper," in opposition to the *Gazette*, and on the same days, entitled the *Current Intelligence*;[1] and the *Gazette's* position at once became precarious. Williamson and Perrot, with few correspondents and not possessing the public ear like Muddiman, could not hope to contend against the latter, who was backed by a Secretary of State and in all probability by General Monck, now Duke of Albemarle, as well; and moreover there was L'Estrange's charge of £100 to be paid. L'Estrange must have been delighted at Williamson's difficulties.

The great fire of London came to the rescue. All the printers in London were burnt out, including the printers of the *Gazette* and *Current Intelligence*, and both papers ceased. Williamson must have seized the opportunity to make terms, for, when the *Gazette* reappeared after a week's interval, *Current Intelligence* was conspicuous by its absence. His troubles were not at an end, however. All his attempts to compete with Muddiman as a newsletter writer were futile, and his correspondence was unremunerative. Muddiman organised his newsletter correspondence on a scale the like of which had never been seen before.[2] When his newsletters

[1] *Hist. MSS. Commission*, 10th Report, Appendix iv., p. 449; Fleming, Cal., p. 40 (761).

[2] *Cf. The Man of Mode; or, Sir Fopling Flutter*, Act III., scene ii., by Sir George Etherege, 1676:—

"Lady Townley: I pity the young lovers we last talked of though to say truth their conduct has been so indiscreet they deserve to be unfortunate.

"Medley: You've had an exact account from the great lady i' th' box to the little orange wench.

"Emilia: You're a living libel, a breathing lampoon. I wonder you are not torn to pieces.

"Medley: What think you of setting up an office of intelligence for these matters? The project may get money.

"Lady Townley; You would have great dealings with country ladies.

"Medley; More than Muddiman has with their husbands."

appeared the *Gazette* was "never asked for". People "declined the *Gazette*" in favour of them, and "persons of the greatest quality" were "constrained to betake themselves to them". Hickes wrote to Williamson on 27th December, 1667, that twenty dozen *Gazettes* less than formerly were sent out. "The people so much slight them *they having nothing in them of the proceedings of Parliament*, which Mr. Muddiman writes at large."

Finally, Sir Joseph Williamson—Secretary of State—was reduced to conniving at theft, and, in order to supply the *Gazette* and his own newsletter clerks with intelligence, actually employed Hickes to steal Muddiman's newsletters while in transit through the post; for the numbers of addressed newsletters by Muddiman among the State Papers alone disclose this fact, without Hickes's own guarded references to what he was doing.[1]

The *Gazette* remained alone for many years, and still retains its official position, but until Henry Muddiman's death it held a secondary position to the newsletters. His privilege of free postage seems never to have been withdrawn, and the *British Mercury* in 1712 (30th July to 2nd August) writes of the "famous Muddiman," and states that his newsletters gained him "a plentiful subsistence". He died "at his house at Coldhern near Earl's Court" in 1692, and was buried on 7th March in Kensington Parish Church, on the left side of his wife's grave, under "Lord Cambden's pew" by the "ally leading into the chancel from the North door".[2]

See also Roger North's *Life of Sir John North*; *Wood's Life and Times*, by A. Clark, (numerous references); *Hist. MSS. Commission*, 4th Report, p. 250; 5th Report, p. 318; 7th Report, p. 468; 12th Report, p. 77, etc.

[1] *E.g.*, 7th September, 1668, S. P. Dom., Charles II., 245, No. 190: "I sent yesterday a letter for you with two enclosed of H. M. and desir'd Mr. Francis" (then Williamson's newsletter clerk) "to send it to you without opening it". Every *addressed* newsletter to be found in the State Papers is by Muddiman (whether attributed to Francis or no). They were not signed, but are headed "Whitehall," and can be identified by the seals.

[2] Kensington Parish Registers. The site of Coldhern is now occupied by Coleherne Court, Earl's Court. The house was the residence of Sir

The *Gazette* was not intended to contain advertisements, and an announcement to this effect appeared in it in June, 1666, a similar notice appearing about the same time in *Current Intelligence*. Both papers stated that "advertisements" were not the business of a "paper of intelligence," and that they would not insert them unless they were matters of State, but would publish a paper apart for them. L'Estrange, however, stopped this in virtue of his patent, and on 25th June issued a pamphlet called *Publick Advertisements*. This seems to have failed. Oddly enough the *Gazette* at the present day, though it contains a large number of advertisements, is concerned only with advertisements of State—chiefly such as are required by Act of Parliament to be inserted in it. It is still a biweekly folio, and has never succumbed to the modern innovation of printing its "catchword" in Gothic letters.

William Lister, father-in-law to General Lambert, up to 1649. Lambert is said by Lysons to have resided in it at the time of the Restoration, but this is incorrect as he lived at Wimbledon.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A.

NOTE.—I think this is the only copy in existence of a Royalist periodical describing events at the murder of King Charles I. It has escaped notice owing to the fact that the date is 1648-49, and has been bound up among the periodicals of 1648. It is important as settling the identity of the man who spat in the King's face, and the meaning of the word "Remember".

A ROYALIST MERCURY.

(1)

MERCURIUS ELENCTICUS, Numb. 1.

COMMUNICATING the unparallell'd Proceedings at Westminster, the Head-Quarters, and other Places, discovering their designes, reproving their Crimes, and advising the Kingdome. From Wednes. the 31 of January till Wed. the 7 of February 1648.

. . . Ridentem dicere verum
Quid vetat?

To kill the King eight yeares agon
was counted Highest Treason
But now 'tis deemed just, and Done
as consonant to Reason.

The Temple was esteemed then
Sacred and Venerable
Adorn'd with Grave and Godly Men
but now 'tis made a Stable.

'Twas Criminall to violate
the wholesome Lawes o' th' Nation
But (now we have a lawless State,)
'tis done by Proclamation.

Both Prince and People liv'd in Peace
The Land with Wealth abounded
But now these Blessings fade and cease
Thankes to the Cursed Roundhead.

Liberty, Liberty! Was once the Cry of the ambitious Romans (as now it is of the degenerate English). But when to gain this liberty they took the Liberty to murder their lawful Princes (though they were Tyrants, yet) we know what miseries and troubles befell the Roman Empire. Tacitus speaking of the story he writ thereof saies? It was "Opus plenum magnis casibus, atrox praeliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace saevum". A work full of great misfortunes terrible to behold for the many cruel Battailes, Repugnant for the variety of Sedi-

(2)

tions many horrible in the relation even of Peace itselfe. If then the Romans fared so ill for killing their evill Princes (such as Nero, Otho, Galba, and Vitellius whom successively they slew) what may the English look for, that now have murdered their lawfull soveraign, no Tyrant, no Usurper, no Encroacher, no Licentius, Lasivious or Covetous King, but the most vertuous, Magnanimous, Renowned, bounteful, and pious King of Christendome.

Tuesday, January 30.

That this day they did so, Let it be writ in their Annals of Shame in Letters of Blood, to the perpetuall Dishonour of the English Nation, who could stand still and see their Soveraigne murthered only for maintaining their liberties. And let the Justice of Heaven pursue those bloody regicides to the Pit of Destruction, who so cruelly, so inhumanly shed his innocent blood. In the interim yee champions of the Protestant cause, who heretofore could boast (and that justly) of your obedience to Kings, and brand the Church of Rome, with the doctrine of deposing and murdering them. Be ye henceforth silent lest she blame you as once Valerius and

Horatius did the Tribunes of War, "Crudelitatem damnatis, crudelitatem initis" You condemne cruelty and yet you use it yourselves.

To give you the compleat story of their proceeding to this height of Impiety, or insert the severall full and solid answers of his Majesty by way of exception to the illegal jurisdiction of that pretended new court which condemned him or to give you his speech on the scaffold cannot (I hope) be expected in this narrow roome, considering they are printed by themselves, at large, though not without a manifest Track and continued mixture of their malicious Glosses to corrupt and Clowd the purer sense of his Majesty's expressions, arguments, and reasons. And in deed who could expect, that those who let not to fix any blemish upon him whilst he lived, should spare to do him any wrong at his death? But I hope you shall shortly have the entire truth of them all, at large, published by an impartiall Pen, and in that respect I am also the willinger to forbear my Ruder collections.

Only this, I shall desire the Reader to take notice of some circumstantial cruelties of his Persecutors from the time he was brought from Hurst Castle to the houre of his death. You must understand, that as they had ordained his neck to the hatchet, before ever they heard him speak, so likewise it was their indeavour (if by any means they could) to perplex and discomfit his soule, and this they supposed might the best be done by distempering his body.

(3)

(for so much philosophy Mr. Peters was capable of.)

To this end whilst he was at Windsor they let the very Rascallity of the Souldiery all the day long to revile and buffet him with Reproachfull language, of this a gentleman of good quality was an eare-witnesse, who heard a centinel use these words to him "You with a pox to you, must have fifteen pound a day allow'd you for your table, but we poor soldiers that stand in the cold must not have 15d. to releeve

us with. Well Stroaker" (for so they termed him in relation to that gift which God had given him in curing the evill) "we shall be quit of you ere long," with much other opprobrious and treasonable language and unseemly gestures thinking by that meanes to provoke and put him into passion. But they found him of another temper, for of such incomparable patience he was, that they never moved him to anything more than a princely scorn and neglect of their insolencies.

When he had the happiness to enjoy the company of any of their commanders, all the comfort he had in their society was but the same our Saviour had of the Jews, Temptation, rebuke and scorne. The day he was brought from Windsor, one of them told him thus "Sir" (says he) "the Parliament are setting up scaffolds in Westminster Hall for your tryall". "Well!" (said the King) "it makes no matter. I perceive then what they meane to do with me, and if they do murther me, I shall die with good company." But the Wittall not apprehending his meaning, desired to know what he meant by good company? "I meane" (says the King) "Religion, Lawes, Prerogative, Privilege, and Liberty, for these I think are 'good company,' and I could wish they might out-live me, but I feare they will not."

After he came to St. James's, and so all the time of his Trial—not to speak of the insolencies of Bradshaw and Cooke, for these are notoriously known and will be remembered—they permitted—I may rather say commanded, the soldiers to revile him at their pleasure and as he passed from the Hall (on Monday January 22) Col. Hewson[1] himselfe (for the honour of the Gentle Craft) cry'd "justice, justice on the traytor," and withall spit in his face, whereat the King only smil'd, took out his handkerchiffe, and patiently wyp'd the venome off his face, saying, "Well, sir! God hath justice in store both for you and Me".

All the night time he had a couple or more, of louzie

[1] One of the "judges."

souldiers that stood centinel in his bed-chamber who were relieved every two houres and never rested either talking to him or amongst themselves, or smoaking out his eyes with their stinking Tobacco so that neither he could take his rest, nor performe his devotion to Almighty God, but in their sight, and not without their Expostulations and censure.

(4)

Thus, I say, they indeavoured to indispose him, that he should not be able so to recollect himself, as to plead against their pretended Authority, with that settled clearnesse of reason and judgement which otherwise they feared, and neverthelesse found he did, to their lasting infamy. At the least wise so to distemper and amaze him that when he came to execution he might dye like one of their Hothams, with trouble and horror of conscience, fearfully, or so weakly that he might not (if they could hinder it) leave that testimony of his goodness at his death, which so much purity of life promised. But (to the glory of God be it spoken and with honour and reverence to that blessed bishop and comforter of his soule (next his Saviour) the Lord Bishop of London) such was his Christian patience and undaunted valour to the last moment of his sufferings, that he encountered boldly and subdued effectually, all the assaults and temptations both of Hell and Earth, and yielded up his spotless soule with that Alacrity, courage, constancy, Faith, Hope and Charity, which became the justness of the cause he dyed in and the greatnesse of his Royall spirit.

Rest Blessed Saint! Whilst these assassinates
Doe Triumph in thy fall, which terminates
Thy toilsome dayes, but does afresh begin
To huddle vengeance on them that did the Sin
Which loads their consciences, dries up their vaynes
And makes them tyrannise in shrunken straines
Alas fond Regicids! thought they to speed
Ought better in their worke for this black deed?
For every hundred hearts they had before
This dismal blow hath left them not a score

And as those valiant martyrs when they dy'd
Still Phœnix-like the Church with new supply'd
Even so, fresh troups shal from thy ashes spring
T' avenge the blood, Crowne second Charles their King
Whilst thou great Martyr dost possesse a Crown
Which Violence shall not touch, nor Treason owne
"Thus Charles the First hath gain'd immortal glorie
These traitors stinking names, to rot in storie."

When they had murdered him, such as desired to dip their handkerchiefes or other things in his blood, were admitted for moneys. Others bought peeces of board which were dy'd with his blood, for which the soldiers took of some a shilling of others half a crowne, more or lesse according to the quality of the persons that sought it. But none without ready money. And after his body was coffin'd as many as desi-

(5)

red to see it, were permitted at a certaine rate, by which meanes the soldiers got store of moneys, insomuch that one was heard to say "I would we had two or three more such Majesties to behead, if we could but make such use of them".

But that which renders them yet more odious was this. The King (having nothing else to bestow upon his son the Prince of Wales) had charged the Bishop of London to send him his George, which they but suspecting (because he gave it him on the scaffold with this word 'Remember') Ordered (in case the King had so disposed of it) "That his George should not be sent to the Pr. and withall that those cabinets which he had bestowed on the Bishop should be searched for papers," which they did accordingly and carryed away such papers as they thought fitting (some say *all*) But the George for certain they took from him, and it was moved in the house. That the Bishop might be required (and if occasion were rack'd) to confess what private instructions the King had given him concerning the Prince, or any other, and what messages he had in charge to deliver him or the Queen. But this was held not so necessary as destructive to their proceedings in that (as was alleadged) it might incurre a

further odium, which they had no need of having already crept to this height of wickednes for which they are every moment in danger of their lives.

In this interim Proclamation is made all the city over "That no person or persons should presume to proclaim the Prince of Wales, or any other to be the King of England or Ireland (for of Scotland they allow us) by colour of inheritcance succession election or any other claim whatsoever under pain of High treason etc., By which we may clearly see: That it was not so much for any personal misdemeanours in the King that they murdered him, as to extirpate Monarchy Rout and Branch. For suppose (but it will never be granted) that the King could have and have been guilty of all those Tyrannies, treasons and murders, which they laid to his charge, and that the utmost execution of that sentence were lawfull, yet that therefore the Son should suffer for the father's offences, will neither stand with good Divinity nor reason. It may with their manner of Justice.

But I have a great fancy to be guilty of this peece of treason and therefore I'le be so bold as play the champion for once, though I hold no land by it.

O yes! O yes! Whereas the Rebells of England have by the Arbytrary illegall and unjust power and force of a Trayterous and bloody army most barbarously murdered their lawful King Charles the First of

(6)

that name, on Tuesday the 30th of Jan. 1648 about two of the clocke in the afternoone, be it knowne unto all men by these presents that Charles the Second son and heir apparent of the aforesaid murdered King is the only undoubted true and lawful King of England Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith etc., from the very minute of his Father's death. And all the people within his dominions are accordingly bound by the lawes of God and this nation, and hereby strictly required to acknowledge him for their lawful

Soveraigne and King and to bear true Faith and Alleagiance to him upon paine of High Treason

God save the King.

This evening Duke Hambleton escaped forth of Windsor Castle and came to London in a butcher's habit where

Wednesday, January 31.

Hee was taken knocking at an inne in Southwark whence he was carryed by water to Whitehall, and had there a strong guard set upon him. If they chop off his head in good earnest, I shall then believe he was not so treacherous as cowardly.

This day also Sir Lewes Dives and Mr. Holder escaped from Whitehall where they were prisoners, some think they were drown'd in the Thames, but I hope and think they are both alive, and that by this time their bodyes are cast up on a safer shoare. These escapes put the regicides in debate of bringing the rest to tryall whereupon it was ordered that a committee should be appointed to bring in an act (for so they call it) to constitute another High Court of Justice, who are forthwith to murder the said Duke and others (whom they call) the chiefe delinquents. And in order hereunto it was voted that the Earle of Holland should be forthwith removed to the tower.

Thursday, February 1.

This day the Regicides at Westminster spent much wind in debate of an Act (forsooth) which shall for the future disable all those members from sitting in the House who voted the late King's concessions to the propositions to be a sufficient ground for settling the peace of the kingdome. Which was assented to, and such members as sit in the House are to enter their dissents from the said vote, and those that be absent to declare theirs before they shall be admitted to sit as members.

They voted that Duke Hambleton, the Earles Norwich and Holland, the Lord Capell and Sir John Owen, should be

the next they would murder and the next day some of the High Court of Injustice met in the painted chamber, where they made some preparation to the tryall of them.

(7)

The Lord Capell this evening escaped forth of the Tower but by the treachery of two watermen was unfortunately met with and sent thither againe.

A message came from the Lords House to desire a conference with the Commons touching the settlement of the Nation. But though they were acquainted that the messenger was at the doore, they would not vouchsafe him a hearing, but instead thereof appointed a day to consider, whether or no it may stand with their greatnesse to take any notice of them.

And because the Judges commissions and all other that run in the name of the King are void by his Death, and that therefore some of them refuse to have any dealings with them and others to sit until they have some authority from those who have as little as themselves. It was ordered that the tearms should be adjourn'd until Fryday the 9th of Feb. and that in the meane while they consider and make choice of such Traytors to make judges of as are fittest for their turnes.

Friday, February 2.

The committee of the Navy reported the state thereof (*viz.*) that they found it in a tartar'd miserable posture, that they had conferr'd with some merchants of their assistance and found they will be so mad as advance some moneys towards the setting out of the next Summers fleet. Whereupon it was voted "That the number of ships for the fleet should be 73 the Men 6000 and ordered the Victualling thereof and moneyes to be raised for that service".

That thing miscalled an Act for Triall of Duke Hambleton and the rest was again reported and approv'd of, and Commissioners names to the number of 63, whereof any 15

of them shall be a sufficient Court. Ordered to be inserted. These are to consist of the scumme of the House, Army, and Citty, Coblers, and Tinkers, Pedlars and Weavers, and such are likely to be Duke Hambleton's Peeres. The Regiment of Horse that Harry Martin raised in Barkshire in defiance of the members was this day voted Legitimate (so are not many of his bratts) and had thanks given him for that he would not disband when they bid him.

Saterday, Feb. 3.

The Act for Tryal of Duke Hambleton was againe reported, with the commissioners names inserted who are to sit on Monday next in the Painted chamber. And a large Declaration was presented in answer to the Scots Commissioners papers, wherein they intend to let them know by what authority they murdered the King of Scotland without their consent, and some amendments they made in it and ordered to consider of it Tuesday next.

(8)

They rewarded the two watermen that betrayed the Lord Capell with £40 of the hundred they promised. Their next reward may be a halter.

Sunday, Feb. 4.

The pulpits roared against Covenant breakers, but not so generally as before the King's death. Nor indeed is it out of any affection they have to Monarchy that they raise against their rebellious bretheren of the Army, but because they had not the honour to butcher the King themselves, and that they see their Tithes taken from them and no Provision made for their livelihood.

Monday, Febr. 5.

It was put to the Question whether the kingly office should any longer be continued in this nation, and whether the present house of Peers, as an Essentiall part of the Supream authority? But the latter was most insisted on

and carried in the negative. Only this Priviledge they are content to allow them. They may have liberty to sit and give their opinions and advice, but not to have any more negative voice than they would allow the king. And this makes Pembrooke Double Damme himselfe. As for the government of the kingdome they intend by no means a kingly, only his excellency looks to be Constable of England, and that in effect is all one, only the name of King is wanting. Cromwell is to be Lord High Marshall of England, and Ireton I know not what but a mighty great man. The Revenue of the Crowne is to be set apart for the maintenance of the Army and the estates of those they shall please to make delinquents are to be disposed of amongst the officers of the Army.

The High Court of Injustice met this day in the Painted Chamber to elect their President and officers, but who they are I cannot informe you. Some say none but Bradshaw will serve their turnes, but I hope his turn will be served ere he be much older. For,

> Can Bradshaw look ought longer for to live
> Then one of thousands can one Blow but give?
> Sure no. If ever Man were vowed to die,
> 'Tis Bradshaw. Where he falls, there let him lye
> And write upon him thus, Hereunder lyes
> Th' epitome of treason, perjuries
> Rebellion, impudence, and other things
> That do conduce to murdering of kings
> Graies Inne bred him, may they this breeding have
> As they passe by, to upon his Grave.

FINIS.

APPENDIX B.

A NEWSLETTER.

WHITEHALL, *August* 23, 1670.

WE doe now dayely expect Myn Heer Boreel in exchange of Van Beuingen who goes home, if not before his arrival.

The Ld. Haward intends to take France and Spaine in his way for England and the latest from Madrid dated 6th tells us that he was arrived at Cadiz and suddenly expected their. A great confusion might have followed at Madrid upon a disorder lately their, the first was a quarrill which happened in ye Plaza Mayor at the beginning of a Bull feast in the presence of both their ma^tis^ between ye Conde de Melger and ye Garmon's Guards to wch many p-sons of ye greatest qual-litie ran out of their balcones and were much wounded, especially the Marquess of Guerrarra who is like to dye of them. Since the Conde and five or six of his companions are bannished. The second from a resque of a woemans theife wch 4 soldy^rs^ of the newe regemens would have made from 6 Alguazills, wch upon ye killinge of one officer of ye guard so inraged ye soldy^rs^ for 3 daies togeather that they went to seeke revenge ether without regard to their superior officers or her mag^ty^ till all the alguazill fled into Channles and cloystrs, and yet in all this time but 10 killed, severall alguazill and soldy^rs^ are to be hanged about it.

The bishoprick of Killalough in Ireland beinge become voyd Dr. Vaughan is elected to the place.

On ye 16th Ld Mayo^r^ and Aldermen etc., in p-suance of a message to that purpos attended his ma^ty^ in Councill where his ma^ty^ was pleased to acquaint them y^t^ he had Resolved

for sometime to devarse himselfe in the countrey and therefore commanded them to continue their care for prevention of tumults and to have a ptickl[r] eye upon such as should prsume to meete in conventicl[s] contrary to the late Act of y[e] Comons. Which done they were brought into his ma[tys] ward roabe and then treated wth varieties of wines etc. His ma[ty] has given order for a newe fregot to be built at Bristoll wth 70 peeces of ordinances.

The carriages went on the 19 and 20th to Windso[r] and Hampton Court where their mag[tes] removed on Monday according to their former resolution. His ma[ty] has been pleased to nominate the Comm[rs] to treat for y[e] kingdome of Scotland conserning the Union. Vide, Lt. Comm[r], Artch Bsp of Snt Andrews, Ld Chancel[r], Ld Privy Seale, E Atholl, E. Hume E. Dunferline, E. Lothian, E. Tweedale, E Kincardin, Bp. Dunblane, Bp. Galloway, Ld Regester, Ld. Advocate, Ld Halton, Ld Staires, Ld Newbysh, William Erskine Esq[r] Sr. Robert Moray Sr Artchibald Morray, Sr Robt. Sincler Sr. Alexander Freaser, Sr William Bruce, Sr Andrew Ramsey and Sr Patrick Moray.

They write from Paris da[te] Aug[st] 23rd that the Duke de Crecqui went in y[e] head of an army of 15000 men on y[e] Wednesday towards Peron wh[ch] is a french frontier upon Flanders. The Duke of Buckingham they say was to have an extraordinary treate and within 6 days to goe for England so that this weeke we may expect him here.

On y[e] 19th severall of y[e] justicis of peace in and about Westmin[r] were before his ma[ty] in Councill where his ma[ty] as before he had done to y[e] Ld Mayor and Aldermen commended to them the care of the people in his absence and their diligence to suppressinge y[e] meeting houses.

On y[e] 20th his ma[ty] by reason of his short stay here to give a dispatch to such mat[rs] as lay undetermined before the board was gratiously pleased to sit againe in Councill, where it was ordered that a proclamation should immediately be issued forth that all y[e] memb[rs] of both Houses might have

notice that his Ma^{ts} will and pleasure was that they should all come up and make a full house accordinge to their adiournment on the 24th of October next.

On y^{e} (torn) wth his Royall Highness Prince — went to Windsor attended by a great number of ye nobilitie and ye gentrey etc. The queene ye same day to Hampton Court.

The Deanery of Norage beinge become voyde by the death of Dr. Crofts, Dr Herbert Astley is appoynted by his ma^{ty} to suckseed him.

His ma^{ty} has given order for the buildinge of 3 newe fregott at Hull.

They write from Florans da^{t} August 12th that Mr. Hammelton and Mr. Scaville invoys extraordinary from his ma^{ty} and Royall Highness were arrived their; and having staid some time with Sr John Finch his ma^{ties} Resident till they were conduckted to ye pallace, where ye Duke ordered them to be intertained for 6 daies. The Venice let^{rs} da^{t} 15th tells us that the Grand Segn^{r} was at Adrianople and had sent a hye chiaux to ye vizer of Candea to attend him, who upon ye mesage immediately left Candea havinge by his severitie of impayling them that abused ye Venechanes and his threates of ye like usage to all that should committ the like offences settled a fare corrispondence amongst them. Severall workmen were sent from Constantinople to Candea to build places for such in the countrey who beinge not of ye Mahometan religion had not ye privilege of liveinge in any Citty or Garrison. By the French let^{rs} da^{t} 27th we are advised that the campe are marched towards Flanders, partly for want of forage, and partly to avoyd ye like inconveniences that France lay under ye last yeare when ye troopes spoyled the vintages in all places where they quartred. The Duke of Buckingham had been at Paris 4 daies and lodged in the Amb^{rs} House. The Kinge had presented him with 4 of his best horses and a sword was preparing for him to the vallue of 20000 crownes.

His Ma^{ty} beinge informed in Councill that notwithstand-

ing orders of the board, the one the 18th of May 1666 and the other the 16th of December 1668, for presenting such persons as coyned or vended farthings, halfpenies etc., not silver and that severall psons had accordingly been prosecuted yet nevertheless that the evill p-tise of Coyning and vending such farthings was still continued; did on ye 17th give fresh orders that all psones so offending, especially Corporations, and the stampers or coyners who have beene or shall be found guiltie shall (be) effectually prosecuted by the Attorney Generall accordinge to law. The Councill adiourned till September ye 9th. A yatch if ye wind offers this night goes for France to bringe over the Duke of Buckingham.

(Written by a clerk, and probably dictated and taken down in shorthand. The following is in Muddiman's handwriting:) Hasp will forget not the black mare etc., if you can tell me in a Line where a search may be made for the gelding of Richard (torn)

(Unsigned.)

To Mr. Wm. Symonds
Lanceston
Cornwall.

S. P. Dom., Chas. II., 278, No. 38.

APPENDIX C.

SOME TITLES OF "CORANTOS" IN THE BURNEY COLLECTION.

The 23 *of May.* Weekely Newes from Italy, Germanie, Hungaria, Bohemia the Palatinate France and the Low Countries. Translated out of the Low Dutch copie. London. Printed by I. D. for Nicholas Bourne and Thomas Archer, and are to be sold at their shops at the Exchange and in Pope's-head Pallace 1622. 8 pp.

The 18 *of June.* Same title with the addition of "with a strange accident hapning about and in the City of Zitta in Lusatia". Translated out of the High Dutch copie. London. Printed by I. D. for Nathaniel Newbery and William Sheffard and are to be sold in Pope's-head Alley. 8 pp. 1622.

The 25*th of September.* News from most parts of Christendome etc. London. Printed for Nathaniel Butter and William Sheffard 1622. 17 pp. (Fine woodcut coat of arms inside.)

The 27*th of September.* A relation of letters and other advertisements of newes etc. Printed for Nathaniel Butter and Thomas Archer 1622. 20 pp.

The 4 *of Octob.* 1622. A true relation of the affaires of Europe etc. Printed for Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne 1622. 37 pp.

(For numbers issued by Butter dated 2, 13 and 23 Aug., 1622, see *Notes and Queries*, ser. xii., 22nd Aug., 1903, p. 153.)

October 15, 1622. *No.* 2. A continuation of the affaires of

the Low Countries and the palatinate etc. Printed for Nathaniel Butter and Barth. Downes 1622. 22 pp.

October 15, 1622. *Num.* 2. A relation of the late Occurrents which have happened in Christendome. Printed by B. A. for Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne 1622. 19 pp.

October 30, 1622. *No.* 4. A continuation of the weekly newes from Bohemia Austria etc. Printed for Nathaniel Butter and Barth. Downes 1622. 20 pp.

(The inside heading commences "The Weekly Newes out of . . . ," etc.)

The 4 *of November.* The Peace of France or the Edict with the Articles of Peace etc. Printed by I. D. for Nathaniel Newbery and are to be sold at his shop under St. Peters Church in Cornehill and in Pope's-head Alley at the Starre 1622. 12 pp.

November 5, 1622. *Numb.* 5. A continuation of the News of this present weeke etc. Printed for Bartholomew Downes and Thomas Archer 1622. 22 pp.

November 7, 1622. *Numb.* 6. A Coranto. Relating Divers particulars concerning the newes out of Italy etc. Printed for Nathaniel Butter, Nicholas Bourne and William Shefford 1622. 21 pp.

August 29. *Numb.* 46. *Ital. Gazet. Nu. prio.* More newes from Europe etc. Printed for Nathaniel Butter and Thomas Archer 1623. 22 pp.

EXAMPLES OF PERIODICALS ISSUED BY BUTTER AND BOURNE.

November 11. *Number* 3. The wonderful resignation of the Mustapha etc., 1623. 22 pp.

November 20. *Numb.* 4. The affaires of Italy etc., 1623. 22 pp.

December 2. *Number* 6. First from Constantinople etc., 1623. 22 pp.

December 13. *Number* 7. Weekly newes from Germanie etc.,

1623. 22 pp. (Weekly newes now becomes the most usual commencement.)

The Last Known Copies.

Numb. 1. *An abstract of Some speciall Forreigne Occurrences, brought down to the weekly Newes of the* 20 *of December.* London. Printed for Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne. By permission. 1638. (Extends over several months, 96 pp.)

Cent 3. *Numb.* 48. The continuation of the Forraine Occurrents for 5 weeks last past etc. London. Printed January 11, 1640, for Nath. Butter dwelling at St. Austin's gate (47 pp.).

APPENDIX D.

CATALOGUE OF PERIODICALS FROM 1641 TO 1666 INCLUSIVE.

NOTE.—Except where otherwise indicated the following periodicals are all contained in the Thomason Collection up to the month of April, 1660. From April, 1660, onwards the Burney Collection should be consulted. The first and last existing numbers of each periodical only are cited, and for reading purposes vol. ii. of the *Catalogue of the Thomason Tracts*, by Dr. G. K. Fortescue (1908), should be consulted. For the Burney Collection the manuscript catalogue in the Newspaper Room at the British Museum must be consulted. For the biographies of the printers or booksellers *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from* 1641 *to* 1667, by H. R. Plomer, printed for the Bibliographical Society (1907), is indispensable. The full titles of the periodicals are set out when they appeared for periods exceeding a year, or the titles themselves are interesting or important; in other cases the catchwords only are given.

1641.

The Heads of Severall Proceedings in the Present Parliament (from the 22 of November to the 29, 1641). Wherein is contained the substance of severall letters sent from Ireland shewing what distresses and misery they are in. With divers other passages of moment touching the affaires of these kingdomes. No. 1. Nov. 22-29, 1641. Mondays. London. Printed for I. T.

(*The First of the Diurnals.* The synopsis of the contents differs in the succeeding numbers, but full title remains the same.) No. 2. Nov. 29-6 Dec. No. 3. (?) 6-13 Dec.

Continued as

Diurnal Occurrences or the Heads of Severall Proceedings in both Houses of Parliament. Mondays (No. 4). Dec. 13-20, 1641. Printed for J. T. and T. B. The Royal Arms on title page. (No. 5 Printed for John Thomas. Royal Arms omitted.) No. for Dec. 27-3 Jan. 164½. Printed for Nath. Butter and Jo. Thomas.

(Continued as *Diurnall Occurrences in Parliament.* No. 1, Jan. 2-10, 164½, published by William Cooke.)

By Samuel Pecke.

1642.

A Continuation of the True Diurnall of Passages in Parliament. Numb. 6. Feb. 14-21. Mondays. 164½. (Lasted for 2 or 3 months.)

A True Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament. Numb. 10. Mar. 14-21, 164½. Mondays. Signed at the end. Jo. Browne. Cler. Parliamentor. (Ended in March.)

Diurnall Occurrences in Parliament (No. 1). Jan. 2-10, 1641/2. Printed for William Cooke. Mondays. Continued as *A Perfect Diurnall.* By Samuel Pecke.

The Diurnall Occurrences in Parliament (No. 1). Jan. 10-17, 1641/2. Mondays. Printed for F. Coules and T. Banks. No. 2. Jan. 17-24, 1641/2. (Ended in March.)

A Perfect Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament (No. 1). Jan. 24-31, 1641/2. Mondays. Printed for William Cook. (Ended in March.)

By Samuel Pecke.

Ireland's True Diurnall or a continued relation of the chiefe Passages that have happened there since the (11th of January unto this (3 of Feb.) present) sent etc.

(No. 1) Jan. 11-3 Feb. 1641/2. Printed for William Bladen, and are to be sold by Richard Royston in Ivie Lane.

Continued as

A True Diurnall or a continued relation of Irish Occurrences (No. 2). 12 Feb.-8 March 1641/2. Printed for William

1642.

Bladen and to be sold by Francis Couls. (No more issued.)

By William Bladen.

The True Diurnall Occurrences or the Heads of the Proceedings of Both Houses of Parliament. Averred by R. P. Clerke. (No. 1 ?) Jan. 31-7 Feb. 1642. Printed by John Hammond. Mondays.

Diurnall Occurrences or the Heads of the Proceedings in both Houses of Parliament. (Royal Arms on title page.) Numb. 6. Feb. 7-14 (1641/2). Printed for I. G. Mondays.

(Ended in March.)

A True Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament (? No. 2). Mar. 14-21, 1641/2. Mondays.

The Heads of All the Proceedings in both Houses of Parliament (? No. 1). May 23-30, 1642. Printed for J. Smith and A. Coe. Mondays.

Some Special Passages from London Westminster Yorke, Hull Ireland and other Partes. Collected for the satisfaction of those that desire true information.

Number 1. May 24-2 June 1642. Thursdays. Printed for Thomas Baker.

Diurnall Occurrances in Parliament (No. 1). May 30-6 June. Mondays.

Remarkable Passages in Parliament (No. 1). May 13-6 June. Mondays.

A Perfect Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament (Numb. 1). June 13-20, 1642. Printed for Thomas Cook, some numbers for William Cook. Mondays. (No. 9.) 8-15 Aug. Printed by Tho. Fawcet for T. C. By Samuel Pecke.

Continued as

A Perfect Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament. . . . More fully and exactly taken then by any other printed Copies as you will finde upon comparing etc. Numb. 13. Sept. 5-12, 1642. Mondays. Illustration of House sitting.

1642.

Printed for Francis Coules.

By Samuel Pecke

A True and Perfect Diurnall of all the Chiefe *Passages in Lancashire*. . . . Sent to five shopkeepers in London from a friend. Numb. 1. July 3-19, 1642. Mondays.

Printed for T. U.

A Perfect Diurnall of the *Passages* in *Parliament* (No. 1). July 11-18, 1642. Printed for Robert Williams. Signed Hen. Elsing. Mondays.

A Perfect Diurnall or The Proceedings in Parliament (No. 1). July 11-19, 1642. Mondays.

A Perfect Diurnall or the Proceedings in Parliament. No. 1. July 18-25, 1642. Mondays. Printed for John Thomas.

A Perfect Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament (No. 1). July 18-25, 1642. Printed for J. G. and R. W. (afterwards Robert Wood only). Mondays.

A Diurnall and Particula (r) of the last Weekes daily Occurrents from his Majesty in severall places (No. 1). July 10-(26) 1642. Printed by T. F. for D. C. Tuesdays.

A True and Perfect Diurnall of the passages in Parliament from etc. Numb. 11. Aug. 29-6 Sept. (1642). Mondays. Printed by H. Blundell.

A Perfect Diurnall of the passages in Parliament. Numb. 7. July 25-1 Aug. 1642. Mondays. Printed for John Jonson.

Some Special Passages from Hull Anlaby and Yorke. Number 10. 1 Aug. 1642. Printed for R. O. and G. D. No. II. 1-9 Aug. 1642—"from London Westminster" etc.

A Continuation of the True Diurnall of Passages in Parliament. Numb. 1. Aug. 8-15, 1642. Mondays. Printed by T. Paine and M. Simmons.

An Exact and True Diurnall of the Proceedings in Parliament (No. 1). Aug. 8-15, 1642. Mondays. Printed for William Cook (also Thomas Cooke).

Some Special and Considerable Passages from London Westminster etc. Numb. 1. Aug. 9-16, 1642. Tuesdays. Printed for H. Blunden.

1642.

Special Passages from Divers parts of this Kingdome, as it came to the hands of some of the Parliament, and divers other persons of credit. Communicated for the satisfaction of the well-affected Party. Numb. 2. Aug. 16-23, 1642. Tuesdays.

Certaine Speciall and Remarkable Passages from both Houses of Parliament. Hen. Elsyng. Cler. Parl. D. Com. (No. 1.) Aug. 22-26, Friday, 1642. Monday. Printed for Francis Leach and Francis Coles.

Number 4 is continued as "*A Continuation of* etc., Thursds Aug. 25-30 Tuseday 1642". By Samuel Pecke. (Until 27 Feb. 1646.)

Special Passages and certain Informations from severall places. Collected for the use of all that desire to bee truly informed. Numb. 3. Aug. 23-30, 1642. Tuesdays. Printed for H. Blunden.

Remarkable Passages or a Perfect Diurnall of the weekly proceedings in both Houses of Parliament. Number 1. Sept. 5-12, 1642. Mondays. Printed for Mathew Walbank and J. W.

Englands Memorable Accidents (No. 2). Sept. 12-19, 1642. Printed for Stephen Bowtell. Until Jan. 16, 1643.

A Perfect Relation or summarie. Numb. 1. Sept. 19-29 (Thursday) 1642. Printed for Francis Coles.

A Continuation of True and Special Passages (? No. 1). Sept. 22-29, 1642. Printed for William Cook.

A Continuation of Certain Speciall and Remarkable Passages. Numb. 13. Oct. 3-8, 1642. Mondays. Printed for Robert Wood.

A Continuation of Certaine Speciall and Remarkable Passages. Number 1. Oct., Monday, 10-14, Friday, 1642. Printed for Marke Wallace.

A Continuation of Certaine Speciall and Remarkable Passages (? No. 1). Nov. 12-18, 1642. Printed for John White.

1643.

Oxford Diurnal communicating the Intelligence and affaires of the Court to the rest of the Kingdome. Oxford. Henry Hall for William Webb. First week Jan. 1-7, 1643. One number—In the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres's, Collection.

The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer sent abroad to prevent misinformation (No. 1). Dec. 27-3 January (1643). Tuesdays. Printed for G. Bishop and R. White, afterwards by H. B. Until 9 Oct. 1649. By R. C. ? Richard Collings.

Mercurius Aulicus communicating the intelligence and affairs of the Court, to the rest of the Kingdome (No. 1). Jan. 8, 1643. Sundays. Printed by Henry Hall for William Webb. Oxford. Until 7 Sept. 1645. By Sir John Berkenhead.

The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer or Special Passages. Numb. 24. Jan. 17-24, 1643. (One number. A counterfeit.)

The Daily Intelligencer of Court, City and Countrey. Relating the most remarkable passages in either which may save much labour in writing of letters. Numb. 1. Jan. 30, 1643. Printed for John Thompson. One number.

Certaine Informations. Numb. 16. May 1-8, 1643. Mondays. Printed for G. B. and R. W. Until 21 Feb. 1644. By William Ingler.

Mercurius Civicus. London's intelligencer or truth really imparted from thence to the whole kingdom to prevent misinformation. Numb. 1. May 4-11, 1643. Thursdays. Printed by John Wright and Thomas Bates and are to be sold in the Old Bayly. Until 10 Dec. 1646. By R. C. ? Richard Collings.

Mercurius Rusticus Or the Countries Complaint of the Murthers Robberies Plundrings and other Outrages committed by the Rebells on his Majesties faithful Subjects (No. 1). May 20, 1643. ? For about six months. By Bruno Ryves D.D.

1643.

A Coranto from Beyond the Sea. Number 1. June 9. 1643. Printed for Humphrey Tuckey. One Number.

The Parliament's Scouts Discovery. Numb. 1. June 9-16, 1643. Fridays. Printed for Bernard Alsop. By John Dillingham. One number.

Wednesdays Mercury or speciall Passages and certain informations. Numb. 1. July 19, 1643. Wednesday. No. 2. (*The Speciall Passages continued.*) Printed by T. P. and M. S. in Goldsmiths Alley. Until 2 August.

The Parliament Scout communicating his Intelligence to the Kingdome. Numb. 1. 20-27 June 1643. (No. 2. 29 June-6 July.) Thursdays. Printed by G. Bishop and R. White. Until 30 Jan. 1645. By John Dillingham.

A Perfect Diurnall of some Passages in Parliament and from other parts of this Kingdom. Numb. 1. June 26-3 July 1643. Mondays. Until 8 Oct. 1649. Printed for Francis Coles and Laurence Blaikelock. By Samuel Pecke.

A Weekly Accompt or Perfect Diurnall. Numb. 1. 3-10 July 1643. Mondays. Printed for Robert Wood and John Greensmith; afterwards by Bernard Alsop. Until 3 August. By Daniel Border.

The Weekly Account containing etc. No. 1. Sept. 6, 1634 (*sic*). Wednesdays. Printed for Philip Lane, at Grayes Inne Gate (afterwards for Bernard Alsop). Until No. 17. Ap. 21-29, 1647, then continued as *The Perfect Weekly Account* with No. 18. Ap. 28-5 May (in competition with another of the same name) until 28 June 1647. By Daniel Border.

Mercurius Britanicus communicating the affaires of Great Britaine. For the better information of the People. Numb. 3. Sept. 5-12, 1643. Tuesdays. Printed by G. Bishop and R. White. Until 18 May 1646. Nos. 1 to 51 by Captain Thomas Audley and the rest by Marchamont Nedham.

The True Informer Continuing a collection of the most speciall and observable passages, which have bin imparted this

1643.

weeke from severall parts of his Majesties dominions etc. Numb. 1. (MS. Sept. 23) 1643. Saturdays. Printed for Tho. B. and I. W. junior. Until 22 Feb. 1645. By Henry Walley.[1]

New Christian Uses upon the Weekly true Passages. Numb. 1. Oct. 7, 1643. Fridays. Printed for Laurence Chapman and Laurence Blaiklock. (One number.) ? By George Smith.

The Scottish Mercury (No. 1). (MS. 13 Oct. 1643.) (One number.) By George Smith.

The Scotish Dove Sent out and returning. Bringing intelligence from their army and makes some relations of other observable passages of both Kingdomes for information and instruction. Numb. 1. Oct. 13-20, 1643. Fridays. Printed for Laurence Chapman. Until 26 Nov. 1646. By George Smith.

Mercurius Rusticus or a Countrey Messenger (No. 1. Oct. 26, 1643). (One number.) By George Wither.

The Welch Mercury. Numb. 1. Oct. 21-28, 1643. Saturdays. Printed by W. Ley and G. Lindsey. (One number.) (Continued as *Cambro Britannus.*)

The Compleate Intelligencer and Resolver (No. 1). Nov. 2, 1643. (One number.) ? By George Smith.

Informator Rusticus. Numb. 1. Oct. 27-3 Nov. 1643. Fridays. Printed by Robert Austin and Andrew Coe. (One number.) ? By Henry Walker.

Britanicus Vapulans. Numb. 1. (MS. Nov. 4, 1643) (continued as *Mercurius Urbanus* with No. 2). Nov. 9. (Two numbers.) ? By Daniel Featly, D.D.

The Compleate Intelligencer and Resolver In two parts. Numb. 2. Nov. 7, 1643. Tuesdays. Until Nov. 28. ? By George Smith.

Remarkable Passages. Numb. 1. Nov. 1-8, 1643. Wednesdays. Printed for A. Coe. Until Dec. 29, then *A Continuation of etc.* Until 2 May 1644.

[1] The letters "MS." refer to Thomason's dates.

1643.

The Kingdomes Weekly Post with his packet of letters, publishing his message to the City and Countrey. Numb. 1. Nov. 9, 1643. Thursdays. Imprinted by John Hammond. Frontispiece of a man on Horseback blowing a horn. Until Jan. 10, 1644. ? By John Rushworth.

Mercurius Cambro Britannus. Numb. 6. Nov. 27-5 Dec. 1643. Mondays. Printed by Bernard Alsop. (The last number.)

1644.

Newsbooks already in Existence from 1643.

Sundays—*Mercurius Aulicus.* (Oxford). (Until 7 Sept. 1645.)

Mondays—*Certaine Informations.* (Until 21 Feb.)

A Perfect Diurnall. (Until 8 Oct. 1649.)

Tuesdays—*The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer.* (Until 9 Oct. 1649.)

Mercurius Britanicus. 1643. (Until 18 May 1646.)

Wednesdays—*The Weekly Account.* (Until 31 March 1647.)

A Continuation of Remarkable Passages. (Until 2 May.)

Thursdays—*Mercurius Civicus.* (Until 10 Dec. 1646.)

The Parliament Scout. (Until 30 Jan. 1645.)

The Kingdomes Weekly Post. (Until Jan. 10.)

Fridays—*The Scotish Dove.* (Until 26 Nov. 1646.)

Saturdays—*The True Informer.* (Until 22 Feb. 1645.)

A Continuation of Certain Speciall and Remarkable Passages. Informed to the Parliament and otherwise from divers parts of this kingdom. Numb. 1. Dec. 29-5 Jan. 1644. Fridays. Printed for F. Coales and F. Leach. Until 1 August 1645. By Samuel Pecke.

Occurrences of Certain Speciall and Remarkable Passages. Numb. 2. Jan. 5-12, 1644. Fridays. Printed for Andrew Coe. Until 24 May.

Mercurius &c., Upon my life new borne and wants a name. Troth let the Reader then impose the same. Veridicus —I wish thee, if not so bee—Mutus—for wee Lyes enough doe know. (No. 1.) Jan. 17, 1643/4.

1644.

Continued as *Mercurius &c.* not—Veridicus nor yet—Mutus But—Cambro—or if you please—honest—Britannus. No. 2. Jan. 31-6 Feb. Continued as *Mercurius Veridicus.* No. 3. Feb. 6-13, 1644. Tuesdays. Until 10 April. Printed by Bernard Alsop.

The Spie. Communicating Intelligence from Oxford. No. 1. Jan. 23-30. (Burney.) Mondays. Printed for I. F. Until 25 June 1644. By Durant Hotham.

Anti-Aulicus (No. 1). (MS. Tuesday Feb. 6, 1643/4.) Printed for H. T. (One number.)

Mercurius Anglicus or a Post from the North (No. 1). Jan. 31-7 Feb. 1644. Wednesdays. Printed for T. B. Until 20 Feb.

The Military Scribe Describing his War-like Relations to the People. Numb. 1. Feb. 20-27, 1644. Tuesdays. Printed by W. E. and J. G. Until 2 April.

Mercurius Britanicus. Numb. 27 (*sic*). Mar. 12-18, 1644. Mondays. Printed by G. Bishop. (The counterfeit according to Thomason's note—the real one being printed by Robert White.)

Britaines Remembrancer of the most Remarkable Passages in both Kingdomes. Numb. 1. Mar. 11-19, 1643/4. Tuesdays. Printed for I. F. Until April 2.

The Late Proceedings of the Scotish Army. Numb. 4. March 21, 1644 (Thursday). Continued as *Intelligence from the Scottish Army.* No. 6. Ap. 14. Continued as *Extract of Letters.* No. 7. Ap. 30 (end). Printed for Robert Bostock and Samuel Gellibrand dwelling in Paul's Churchyard. By — Bowles.

Mercurius Aulico-Mastix. Numb. 1. Ap. 12, 1644. Fridays. Printed by G. Bishop. (One number.) (A continuation of the Counterfeit *Britanicus.*)

A True and Perfect Journall of the Warres in England. To prevent erroneous information. Numb. 1. Ap. 16, 1644. Tuesdays. Printed by G. Bishop. Until 30 April.

1644.

The Weekly Newes from Forraigne Parts Beyond the Seas, continued as "from severall parts beyond the seas".
Numb. 1. May 1, 1644. (Wednesdays.)
(Three numbers.)

The Flying Post (illustration of a man on Horseback blowing a horn). Printed by Bernard Alsop. (One number.)

Chiefe Heads of Each Dayes Proceedings in Parliament (No. 1). May 8-15, 1644. Wednesdays. Printed by Francis Leach. (One number.)

An Exact Diurnall. Numb. 1. May 15-22, 1644. Wednesdays. (One number.) Continued as

A Diary, or an Exact Iournal. Faithfully communicating the most remarkable proceedings in both Houses of Parliament. As also delivering the true intelligence from all the armies within his majesties Dominions. Numb. 2. May 24-31, 1644. Fridays. Printed for Mathew Walbancke. Until 5 March 1646.

The Continuation of the Intelligence from the Right Honourable, the Earl of Manchester's Army etc. By Sim. Ash and William Goode. Numb. 2. June 13, 1644. Printed for Thomas Underhill. Until 16 August.

Le Mercure Anglois. Numb. 1. (MS. June 7, 1644.) Thursdays. Printed for Robert White and sold by Nicholas Bourne. With No. 33. Jan. 30-6 March 1644. Printed by Thomas Forcet. Until 14 December 1648. By John Cotgrave or Codgrave.

The Court Mercurie communicating the most remarkable Passages of the King's Armie. Numb. 1. June 22-2 July 1644. Sat. to Tues. Printed by Tho. Forset. Until 16 Oct. ? By John Cotgrave.

The London Post. Numb. 1. Aug. 6, 1644. Tuesdays. Printed by G. B. Afterwards F. L. Until 4 March 1645. By John Rushworth, sub-author Gilbert Mabbott.

The Countrey Foot-Post. Numb. 1. Oct. 2, 1644. Wednesdays. Printed for G. B. and T. B. (One number.) Continued as *The Countrey Messenger.* Number 2. Oct. 4-11, 1644.

1644.

Fridays. Printed by G. Bishop. One number. By John Rushworth.

Perfect Passages of Each Dayes Proceedings in Parliament. Numb. 1. Oct. 16, 1644. Wednesdays. Printed for R. Austin. Until 4 March 1646. ? By Henry Walker.

1645.

Newsbooks already in Existence.

Sundays—*Mercurius Aulicus.* 1643. (Oxford. Until 7 Sept.)

Mondays—*A Perfect Diurnall.* 1643. (Until 8 Oct. 1649.)

Tuesdays—*The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer.* 1643. (Until 9 Oct. 1649.)

The London Post. 1644. (Until 4 March.)

Mercurius Britanicus. 1643. (Until 18 May 1646.)

Wednesdays—*The Weekly Account.* 1643. (Until 31 March 1647.)

Perfect Passages of Each Dayes Proceedings. 1644. (Until 4 March 1646.)

Thursdays—*Mercurius Civicus.* 1643. (Until 10 Dec. 1646.)

The Parliament Scout. 1643. (Until 30 Jan.)

Le Mercure Anglois. 1643. (Until 14 Dec. 1648.)

Fridays—*The Scotish Dove.* 1643. (Until 26 Nov. 1646.)

A continuation of certain Special and Remarkable Passages. 1644. (Until 1 August.)

A Diary or an Exact Journal. 1644. (Until 5 March 1646.)

Saturdays—*The True Informer.* 1643. (Until 22 Feb.)

The Monthly Account. No. 2. (MS. Mar. 1, 1644/5.) Printed for Richard Harper. (Two numbers.)

The Moderate Intelligencer Impartially communicating Martiall Affaires to the Kingdome of England. Numb. 1. Feb. 27-6 Mar. 1645. Thursdays. Printed by R. W. (Until 4 Oct. 1649.) By John Dillingham.

The General Account. (Monthly). (No. 1). (MS. March 31) 1645. Printed by R. Austin for R. H. (One number.)

The Weekely Post-Master. Numb. 1. Ap. 8-15, 1645. Tuesdays. Printed by G. B. (until 6 May).

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Mercurius Veridicus or True Informations. Numb. 1. Ap. 12-19, 1645. Printed by Bernard Alsop. Saturdays (until 7 March 1646).

A Perfect Declaration. Numb. 1. Ap. 26, 1645. (Continued as) *The True Informer* containing a perfect collection of the Proceedings in Parliament and true information from the armie. No. 2. 26 April-3 May 1645. Saturdays. Printed by Thos. Bates and J. W. J. (until 7 March 1646). By Henry Walley.

The Parliaments Post. Numb. 1. May 6-13, 1645. Tuesdays. Printed by G. B. (until 7 Oct.).

The Exchange Intelligencer. Numb. 1. May 15, 1645. Wednesdays. Printed by T. Forcet (until 18 July).

Heads of Some Notes of the Citie Scout. Numb. 4. 19 Aug. 1645. Tuesdays. Continued as *The City Scout.* No. 11. Sept. 30-7 Oct. (Until 11 Nov. 1645.) Printed for R. A. and J. C.

A Continuation of Certaine Speciall and Remarkable Passages. Number 1. Sept. 19-26, 1645. Fridays. Printed for F. L. (Until 27 Feb. 1646.) By Samuel Pecke.

The Kingdomes Weekly Post (No. 1). Oct. 15. Wednesdays. Printed by I. H. (One number.) By John Harris.

Mercurius-Academicus. (Note: Thomason marks this "1st and 2nd week," but it starts with p. 9.) (? No. 2.) Dec. 21,1645. Sundays. ? Printed at Oxford. (Until the end of 1646? In Thomason Collection until March 21, 1646.) ? By Richard Little.

The Cities Weekly Post (No. 1). Dec. 15-22, 1645. Mondays. Printed by F. L. (Until 3 March 1646.)

1646.

Newsbooks already in Existence.

Sundays—*Mercurius Academicus.* 1645. (? Oxford. ? Until the end of the year.)

Mondays—*A Perfect Diurnall.* 1643. (Until 8 Oct. 1649.)
The Cities Weekly Post. 1645. (Until 3 March.)

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Tuesdays—*The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer.* 1643. (Until 9 Oct. 1649.)

Mercurius Britanicus. 1643. (Until 18 May.)

Wednesdays—*The Weekly Account.* 1643. (Until 31 March 1647.)

Perfect Passages of each dayes proceedings. 1644. (Until 4 March.)

Thursdays—*Mercurius Civicus.* 1643. (Until 10 Dec.)

Le Mercure Anglois. 1644. (Until 14 Dec. 1648.)

The Moderate Intelligencer. 1645. (Until 4 Oct. 1649.)

Fridays—*The Scotish Dove.* 1643. (Until 26 Nov.)

A Continuation of Certain speciall and Remarkable Passages. 1644. (Until 27 Feb.)

A Diary or an exact Journal. 1644. (Until 5 March.)

A Continuation of certain speciall and Remarkable Passages. 1645. (Printed by F. L.) (Until 27 Feb.)

Saturdays—*Mercurius Veridicus.* 1645. (Until 7 March.)

The True Informer. 1645. (Until 7 March.)

The Phœnix of Europe or the Forraine Intelligencer. Numb. 1. Jan. 16, 1645/6. Fridays. Published by W. Pendred a well-willer to his countrey. Printed by T. Paine for R. A. (One number.)

The Moderate Messenger. Numb. 1. Jan. 27-3 Feb. 1646. Tuesdays. Printed by R. A. and J. C. (Until 3 March.)

An Exact and True Collection of the Weekly Passages (No. 1). (Feb. 26, 1645/6). (Monthly.) Printed by B. A. to be sold by W. H. (Two numbers.)

The Westerne Informer. No. 1. March 7, 1645/6. (Printed for Thomas Underhill.) (Brit. Mus. 102 *a*, 69. The only number. 4 pages.)

Perfect Occurrences of Both Houses of Parliament and Martiall Affairs. No. 11. Mar. 13, 1646. Fridays. Printed by Jane Coe. (Ended Jan. 1, 1647. Possibly by Henry Walker.)

Generall Newes from All Parts of Christendome. Turkie and other dominions adjacent. Num. 1. (May 6) 1646.

1646.

Wednesdays. Printed by T. F. for Nicholas Bourne. (Two numbers.)

The Packet of Letters (No. 1). June 26 (1646). Printed for Thomas Bates. (Supplements to the *Perfect Diurnall.*) (One or two numbers.) By Samuel Pecke.

The Military Actions of Europe. Numb. 1. Oct. 20-27, 1646. Tuesday. (Thomason's MS. note "Independant".) Printed by J. M. for Giles Calvert. Until 2 Nov.

Papers Sent from the Scotts Quarters, and *A Continuation* &c. No. 1. Oct. 14, 1646. (Burney Vol. 25 A.) Numb. 2. Oct. 28, 1646. Printed for F. L. (A supplement to the *Perfect Diurnall*, suppressed after the second number.) By Samuel Pecke.

Mercurius Candidus. Numb. 1. Nov. 11-20. Wed. to Fri. (1646). Printed by T. Forcet. Until 20 Nov. ? By John Harris.

Diutinus Britanicus. Numb. 1. Nov. 25-2 Dec. 1646. Wednesdays. Printed for John Jones. Continued as *Mercurius Diutinus* (*not Britanicus*) Collector of the affaires of Great Britaine and Martiall proceedings in Europe. Numb. 3. Dec. 8-16, 1646. Tuesdays. No. 5. Wednesdays. Printed by Francis Leach. Until 10 Feb. 1647. By Captain Thomas Audley.

The London Post. Numb. 1. Dec. 14-31, 1646. Thursdays. Printed for H. B. Until 26 Feb. 1647. By John Rushworth, sub-author Gilbert Mabbott.

1647.

Newsbooks already in Existence.

Mondays—*A Perfect Diurnall.* 1643. (Until 8 Oct. 1649.)

Tuesdays—*The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer.* 1643. (Until 9 Oct. 1649.)

Wednesdays—*The Weekly Account.* 1643. (Until 31 March.)
Mercurius Diutinus. 1646. (Until 10 Feb.)

Thursdays—*Le Mercure Anglois.* 1644. (Until 14 Dec. 1648.)
The Moderate Intelligencer. 1645. (Until 4 Oct. 1649.)
The London Post. 1646. (Until 26 Feb.)

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Fridays—(*Perfect Occurrences of* 1646 ended Jan. 1.)

Perfect Occurrences of Every Dayes Iournall in Parliament and other Moderate Intelligence. Numb. 1. Jan. 1-8, 1647. Fridays. Collected by Lu. Harruney Cleric. Printed for I. Coe and A. Coe, afterwards Robt. Ibbitson and John Clowes. (Until Oct. 12, 1649.) By Henry Walker.

England's Remembrancer of London's Integritie or Newes from London of which all that fear God or have any desire of the Peace and safety of this Kingdome ought to be truely informed. Numb. 1. (MS. Jan. 19, 1646/7.) Printed by John Macock for Thomas Underhil. (Strongly Presbyterian and anti-Independent.) One number (? suppressed).

Mercurius Candidus. Numb. 1. Jan. 20-28, 1646/7. Thursdays. Printed for Francis Coles and Laurence Blaiklocke (one number). By Samuel Pecke.

The Moderate Messenger. Numb. 22. Feb. 16-23. Tuesdays. 1647. (A solitary number.)

The Perfect Weekly Account containing Certain Special and Remarkable Passages from both Houses of Parliament, the general assembly of the Kingdome of Scotland and the state and condition of the King's majesty, the army and Kingdome. Numb. 1. Mar. 22-29, 1647. Wednesdays. (Printed by Bernard Alsop.) (Until Oct. 10, 1649.) By B. D.

Mercurius Britanicus. Numb. 1. June 17-24, 1647. Thursday. Printed by B. W. (Until 8 July.)

The Armies Post. Numb. 1. July 1-8, 1647. Thursdays. (One number).

A Continuation of Certaine Speciall and Remarkable Passages (No. 1). July 9-17, 1647. Fridays. (Until Sept. 17.) By Samuel Pecke.

A Diarie or an Exact Journall of the Proceedings of the Treaty betwixt the Parliament and the army as also the other

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severall debates orders and Counsels of Parliament. Together with a full narration of the affaires both Civill and Martiall in the two kingdomes of Scotland and Ireland. Numb. 1. July 10-17, 1647. Saturdays. Drawn by the same hand which composed the diary at first. Printed for H. B. (Three numbers.)

A Perfect Summary (No. 1). July 19-26, 1647. Mondays. Printed by M. B. and are to be sold at the king's head in the Old Bayly. (Until Oct. 6.)

The Moderne Intelligencer. Numb. 1. Aug. 12-19, 1647. Thursdays. Printed for George Lindsey. (Until 30 Sept.)

Mercurius Melancholicus or Newes from Westminster and other parts. No. 1. Sept. 4, 1647. Saturdays, afterwards Mondays (until June 1649 with a varied title). No. 1, in Burney 14 A. Thomason Collection commences with No. 3. Sat. Sept. 11-18 and a counterfeit dated Sept. 11-17. By John Hackluyt D.D. Two competing counterfeits, the one by Martin Parker with John Taylor, and the other by Swallow (? John) Crouch.

Mercurius Morbicus or Newes from Westminster and other parts. Numb. 1. 2. 3. (MS. Sept. 29th) 1647. Mondays. No. 4. Sept. 20-27. (Two numbers.) By Henry Walker.

Mercurius Pragmaticus communicating intelligence from all parts touching all affaires designes Humours and Conditions throughout the Kingdome. Especially from Westminster and the Head-Quarters. "Nemo me impune lacessit." Numb. 1. Sept. 14-21, 1647. Tuesdays. Until 28 May 1650. Variations of title. By John Cleiveland and Samuel Sheppard, by Marchamont Nedham during 1648, various writers in 1649 and to the end. Counterfeits.

Mercurius Anti-Melancholicus. Numb. 1. Sept. 18-24, 1647. Fridays. Printed where I was and where I will be. (One number. Royalist.)

Mercurius Clericus or Newes from Syon communicated to all who love (and seek) the Peace of Jerusalem: Ad. Synodem Grave Rabbins, if the Spirit can't unfold A Newe

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Religion, lets enjoy the Old. Numb. 1. Sept. 17-24, 1647. Fridays. (One number.)

Mercuricus Clericus or Newes from the Assembly of their III. last years in the Holy Convocation, at Westminster. Together with Jockey's farewell, death, and Epitaph to all the Presbyterian faction. "Amicus Plato amicus Socrates. Sed magis amica veritas." Illustration of a bee on title page. Num. 1. (MS. Sept. 25) 1647. Printed for S. F. (One number.)

Mercurius Medicus or a Soveraigne salve for these sick times. The Vizard which deformed them plucked off, and they rendered no better nor worse than they are. The bugbeares that affright some beaten to nothing, and the Angells that allure others proved incompatible with reality. Numb. 1. (MS. Oct. 11) 1647. Continued as *Mercurius Medicus* or a Soveraign salve for the cureing madmen and fools, the one of phrenzie the other of follie, also prescribing medicines for those that are otherwise diseased, whether with a vertigo in the braine, or a worme in the tongue, etc. Numb. 2. Oct. 15-22, 1647. Fridays. Printed for William Lay. By Henry Walker.

Mercurius Anti-Pragmaticus. Numb. 1. Oct. 12-19, 1647. Thursdays. Printed for William Lay. With No. 2 on Tuesdays. (Until 3 Feb. 1648.)

Mercurius Elencticus. Communicating the unparallell'd proceedings at Westminster, the Head-Quarters, and other places, discovering their designes, reproving their crimes, and advising the kingdome. (No. 1.) Oct. 29-5 Nov. 1647. Fridays. "Ridentem dicere verum quid vetat." Until 5 Nov. 1649. By Sir George Wharton and S. Sheppard.

Mercurius Populus. No. 1. November 11, 1647. (Thursdays) (one number). Independent.

Mercurius Rusticus (No. 1). (MS. November 12, 1647.) (Until Dec. 10.)

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Mercurius Bellicus or an alarum to all Rebels. Num. 1. Nov. 13-22, 1647. Mondays. (Until 29 Nov.) By Sir John Berkenhead.

Mercurius Vapulans Survaying and recording the choysest Actions and results of the Parliament, Synode, Army, City, and Countrey. "bilem aut risum fortasse quibusdam movero" . . . . . (MS. Novemb. 27, 1647.) Saturday. (One number.)

1648.

Newsbooks already in Existence.

Mondays—*A Perfect Diurnall.* 1643. (Until 8 Oct. 1649.)
Mercurius Melancholicus. 1647. (Until June 1649.)

Tuesdays—*The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer.* 1643. (Until 9 Oct. 1649.)
Mercurius Pragmaticus. 1647. (Until May 28, 1650.)
Mercurius Anti-Pragmaticus. 1647. (Until 3 Feb.)

Wednesdays—*The Perfect Weekly Account.* 1647. (Until Oct. 10, 1649.)

Thursdays—*Le Mercure Anglois.* 1644. (Until 14 Dec.)
The Moderate Intelligencer. 1645. (Until 4 Oct. 1649.)

Fridays—*Perfect Occurrences.* 1647. (Until Oct. 12, 1649.)
Mercurius Elencticus. 1647. (Until Nov. 5, 1649.)

The Kingdoms Weekly Post. Numb. 1. Dec. 29-5 Jan. 1647. Wednesdays. Collected by B. D. (No. 2 by D. B. G.) (Until March 9.) By D. Border.

Heads of Chiefe Passages in Parliament Collected B. HVVC. Numb. 1. Jan. 5-12, 1647/8. Wednesdays. Printed by B. Alsop. Continued as the *Kingdoms Weekly account of Heads* etc. with No. 4, Jan. 25-Feb. 2. Until 22 March. By Henry Walley, Clerk to the Company of Stationers.

Mercurius Dogmaticus. Numb. 1. Jan. 6-13, 1647/8. Thursdays. (Until 3 Feb.) By Samuel Sheppard.

Mercurius Aulicus againe Communicating Intelligence, "Quis me

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impune lacessit". Numb. 1. Jan. 25-3 Feb. 1648. Thursdays. (Until May 18.) By Samuel Sheppard.

Mercurius Bellicus or an allarum to all Rebels "Tam Marte, quam Mercurio". Numb. 3. Feb. 8-14, 1648. Tuesdays. (A Revival, until July 26.) By Sir John Berkenhead.

A Perfect Summarie of Chiefe Passages in Parliament. Numb. 1. Feb. 12-19, 1647/8. Saturdays. Printed by John Clowes. (One number.)

Packets of Letters. (Frequently at irregular dates.) Printed by Robt. Ibbitson. *No.* 1, 18 *March* 1648. Supplements to *Perfect Occurrences.* By Henry Walker.

Mercurius Insanus Insanissimus. Numb. 2. (March 28th) 1648. Seven numbers. No. 7 in the Guildhall Library, London.

Mercurius Pragmaticus. Numb. 1. Mar. 28-4 Ap. 1648. Tuesdays. (The re-numbering may only be occasioned by the arrest of the former printer.) By ? Marchamont Nedham until the end of the year.

Mercurius Anti-Mercurius communicating all Humours, Conditions, Forgeries, and Lyes of Mydas-eared newsmongers. (No. 1?) (MS. Ap. 4, 1648.) (One number.) By John Harris.

Mercurius Brittanicus. Numb. 1. Mar. 31-7 April 1648. Fridays. Continued as *Mercurius Britanicus.* No. 3. May 25-30. Until 16 August. By John Hall.

Mercurius Critticus. Numb. 1. Ap. 6-13, 1648. Thursdays. (Three numbers. No. 3 "communicating intelligence from the Hypocrites at Westminster, the Sectaries in the Army, and the Moone calves of the City".)

Mercurius Academicus, communicating the intelligence and affairs of Oxford to the rest of the Passive party throughout the Kingdom. Numb. 1. Now in Easter week to Sat. Ap. 15, 1648 "Et Spes et Ratio studiorum in Cæsare tantum". (One number.)

Mercurius Veridicus. Numb. 1. Ap. 14-21, 1648. Fridays. Until 8 May (Royalist).

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Mercurius Urbanicus (No. 1). May 2-9, 1648. Tuesdays. (One number.)

Mercurius Gallicus. Communicating the sense of the Protestants of France as touching the present condition of affairs in England. To all Englishmen as well Rebells as Royalists. No. 3. (MS. May 12, 1648.) (Three numbers.)

Mercurius Poeticus Discovering the treasons of a thing called Parliament. Num. 1. May 5-13, 1648. Fridays. (One number.)

The Parliament-Kite or the Tell Tale Bird. Numb. 1. May 10-16, 1658. Being the Roundheads Thanksgiving Day for 17 colours taken at the Taylors, as they were a Hemming. "Quis me impune lacessit." Printed for the good of the Kingdome. (Until Aug. 31.)

Mercurius Honestus or Newes from Westminster. Touching the unfolding of Elencticus and Pragmaticus, the distempering of the members, the beating of the pulses, the underhand working of the frenzie brains, and the sudden visitation of a Welch Plurisie, with the danger of their Disease, and the opinion of their great Doctors. Numb. 1. (MS. May 19th) 1648 (Friday). Printed for R. O. (Two numbers.)

Mercurius Publicus communicating emergent occurrences, and severall passages of these times, for the further discovery of that Mystery of Iniquity, the present Parliament at Westminster and the timely information of the abused People of England. Num. 3. 22-29 May 1648. Mondays. "Si natura negat, facit indignatio versum." (Three numbers.)

Mercurius Censorius. Numb. 1. 1 June 1648. Tuesdays. (Until 20 June.) By John Hall.

Mercurius Domesticus. Numb. 1. (MS. June 5, 1648.) (One number.)

Westminster Projects or the Mystery of Iniquity of Darby House discovered. Numb. 5. (MS. June 6th) 1648. Friday. Printed nobody knows where, licensed nobody

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knows when, and sent into the world by the appointment of the said committee, because they could not help it, in this yeare of their vexation 1648. (Until June 23. Six numbers at irregular dates.)

New News, Strange News, True News, and upon the matter no news. Read it or let it alone. Take it or leave it. "Si Fortuna me Tormenta, Esperanza me Contenta. If Fortune Torment me Hope shall content me." Excudissimo Anno millesimo Sexcentesimo Quadricesimo Octavo. (No. 1.) June (?15) 1648. (One number.)

Mercurius Psitacus or the Parroting Mercury. No. 1. June 14-21, 1648. Wednesdays. Printed in the last year of the high and mighty states at Westminster. (Until July 24.)

The Parliaments Vulture. Numb. 1. June 15-22 (1648). Thursdays. (One number.)

A Perfect Diary of Passages of the King's Army. (No. 1?) June 10-26, 1648. (?Printer Ibbitson.) (One number.) By ?Henry Walker.

The Moderate, Impartially communicating martial affaires to the Kingdome of England. Numb. 171. June 23-29, 1648. Thursdays. After No. 173 July 6-13, No. 1 begins on Tuesdays July 11-18. Printed for Robert White. (No. 171 is the first number.) (Until 25 Sept. 1649.) By Gilbert Mabbot, licenser of the Press.

The Parliaments Scrich-Owle. Her singing before death, "Quis vetat hoc verum?" Numb. 1. (MS. June 29th) 1648. Thursdays. Printed in the first yeare of the decease of King Oliver. (In verse. Until 14 July.)

A Wonder. A Mercury without a Lye in's Mouth (No. 1. MS. 6 July 1648). (One number.)

Mercurius Scoticus. Numb. 1. (MS. July 19, 1648.) (One number.) By Sir George Wharton.

Mercurius Melancholicus. Num. 1. July 21-28, 1648. Fridays. By John Crouch.

The Royall Diurnall. Numb. 1. July 25-31, 1648. Mondays. (Until August 29.) By Samuel Sheppard.

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Mercurius Anglicus. Numb. 1. July 25-3 Aug. 1648. Thursdays. (One number.)

Mercurius Aulicus (No. 1. MS. Aug. 7) 1648. Mondays. (Until Aug. 28.)

Mercurius Aquaticus (No. 1). 4-11 August 1648. Fridays. (One number.)

The Colchester Spie. Truly informing the kingdome of the estate of that gallant town. Numb. 1. (MS. Aug. 11) 1648. Fridays. (Two numbers.)

Hermes Straticus or a scourge for Elencticus and the Royall Pamphleteers " Virtus repulsa nescia sordida intaminatis fulget honoribus nec sumit aut ponit secures, Arbitrio Popularis aurae ". Numb. 1. Aug. 17, 1648. Thursdays. (One number.)

Mercurius Fidelicus. Numb. 1. Aug. 17-24 (1648). Thursdays. (Two numbers.)

The Parliament Porter or the Door Keeper of the House of Commons. Informing the kingdome of the plots and stratagems of the headless thing sitting at Westminster under the name of a Parliament. Numb. 1. Aug. 28-4 Sept. 1648. Mondays. (Until Sept. 25.)

Mercurius Catholicus communicating his Intelligence from the most learned Protestant writers to simple people how they may know which must needs be the true Christian Religion. No. 1. (15 Sept. MS.) 1648. Rough woodcut of a Cross and a Rosary on title page. No. 2 on Dec. 11. (No more.) By ? Father Thomas Budd.

Mercurius Anti-Mercurius Impartially communicating truth, correcting falsehood, reproving the wilfull, pitying the ignorant, and opposing all false and scandalous aspersions unjustly cast upon the two Honorable Houses of Parliament. Numb. 1. Sept. 12-19, 1648. Tuesdays. Printed for H. H. and R. J. (Until 2 Oct.) By John Harris.

The Treaty Traverst. Numb. 1. Sept. 19-26, 1648. Tuesdays. (One number.)

Mercurio Volpone or the Fox. Prying into every Junto, pro-

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claiming their designes, and refining all intelligence for the better information of His Majesties Loyall Subjects. Numb. 1. Sept. 28-5 Oct. 1648. Thursdays. (Two numbers.)

A Perfect Summary (No. 1). Oct. 2-9, 1648. Mondays. (One number.)

Mercurius Militaris. Numb. 1. Oct. 10, 1648. Tuesday. (Until Nov. 21.) By John Harris.

Mercurius Pacificus. His lectures of Concord Seasonably read to our destructive discords from smal sparks to great flames, now in hopes to be quencht by a Treaty of Peace (No. 1. MS. Nov. 8th). (Wednesdays.) (One number.) By John Taylor.

The True Informer or Monthly Mercury being the certain intelligence of Mercurius Militaris or the Armies Scout. Numb. 1. Oct. 7-Nov. 8, 1648. Tuesdays. Printed for Josiah White (24 pp.). (One number.) By John Harris.

Mercurius Militans with his hags haunting Cruelty and his Bays crowning clemency. Historically suited to our longwished peace. By Hieron Philalethes. (No. 1. MS. Nov. 14) 1648. (Tuesday.) (One number.)

Martin Nonsence. His Collections which he saw with his Brains, and heard with his eyes, of the witty follies, peaceably fought for, in the poore flourishing kingdome of England. Chiefly in the Parliament, Court, City and Army. Numb. 1. Nov. 20-27, 1648. Mondays. (One number.)

A Declaration Collected out of the Journals of both Houses of Parliament. Numb. 1. Nov. 29-6 Dec. 1648. Wednesdays. (Printed by Robert Ibbitson in Smithfield near the Queen's Head Tavern.) (Until Dec. 20.) By Henry Walker.

Mercurius Impartialis Or an Answer to that Treasonable Pamphlet *Mercurius Militaris.* Together with the *Moderate.* Num. 1. Dec. 5-12, 1648. Tuesdays. (One number.) By Sir George Wharton.

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Heads of a Diarie. Numb. 4. Dec. 20-27, 1648. Wednesdays. Printed by Robert Ibbitson. (Until Jan. 9, 1649.) By Henry Walker.

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Newsbooks already in Existence.

Mondays—*A Perfect Diurnall.* 1643. (Until 8 Oct.)
Mercurius Melancholicus. 1647. (Until June.)

Tuesdays—*The Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer.* 1643. (Until 9 Oct.)
Mercurius Pragmaticus. 1647. (Until May 28, 1650).
The Moderate. 1648. (Until 25 Sept.)

Wednesdays—*The Perfect Weekly Account.* 1647. (Until Oct. 10.)
Heads of a Diarie. 1648. (Until Jan. 9.)

Thursdays—*The Moderate Intelligencer.* 1645. (Until 4 Oct.)

Fridays—*Perfect Occurrences.* 1647. (Until Oct. 12.)
Mercurius Elencticus. 1647. (Until Nov. 5.)

Mercurius Melancholicus. Numb. 1. Dec. 25-1 Jan. 1649. Mondays. (Until Jan. 12.) By John Hackluyt D.D.

The Armies Modest Intelligencer. ? No. 1. Jan. 19-26, 1649. Fridays. No. 4. Feb. 8-15. Continued as *The Armies Weekly Intelligencer.* Printed for C. Brook. Until Feb. 22.

A Perfect Summary of exact passages. Numb. 1. Jan. 22-29 (1648/9). Mondays. Continued in No. 2 as *A Perfect Collection of exact passages* and No. 3 as a *Perfect Summary* again. With No. 7 *A Perfect summary of an exact Diurnall.* With No. 10 *A Perfect Summary of an exact Dyarie of some passages of Parliament* etc. With No. 22 *A Pefect* (*sic*) *Summay* (*sic*) *of exact passages of Parliament* etc., and so on. (Until Oct. 1.) Printed by R. Ibbitson. By Theodore Jennings.

The Kingdomes Faithfull Scout. No. 1. Jan. 26-2 Feb. 1648/49. Fridays. Printed by Robert Wood. Until Oct. 12. By D. Border.

The Irish Monthly Mercury. Number 1. Feb. 6, 1649/50.

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Printed at Corke. Reprinted at London by T. N. for Giles Calvert. (One number.) ? By William Bladen.

Mercurius Elencticus. Numb. 1. Jan. 31-Feb. 7, 1648/9. Wednesdays. By Sir George Wharton.

The Irish Mercury Monethly. From the 25 Jan. to 25 Feb. (MS. 1649.) (One number.)

The Impartiall Intelligencer. Numb. 1. Feb. 28-Mar. 7, 1648/9. Wednesdays. Printed by J. C. (Until 19 Sept.)

A Modest Narrative of Intelligence, Fitted for the Republique of England and Ireland. Numb. 1. March 31-7 April, 1649. Saturdays. Printed by J. M. (Until Sept. 22.)

Mercurius Elencticus. Numb. 1. Ap. 4-11, 1649. Wednesday. "Quis me impune lacessit." By S. Sheppard.

The Man in the Moon Discovering a world of knavery under the Sunne Both in Parliament the Counsell of State, the Army, the City, and the Country. With Intelligence from all parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland (No. 1) Die Luna Ap. 16, 1649. Mondays. Printed at the full of the Moon, and are to be sold at the sign of Scorpio, for the good of the State. (Until 5 June 1650.) By John Crouch.

Mercurius Philo Monarchicus. Numb. 1. Ap. 10-17, 1649. Tuesdays. (Until 21 May—irregularly.)

Continued Heads of Perfect Passages. Numb. 1. Ap. 13-20, 1649. Fridays. Printed for Andrew Coe. (Until May 18.)

Mercurius Elenticus (*For King Charls II.*). Numb. 1. Ap. 22, 1649. Mondays.

Mercurius Pragmaticus (*For King Charls II.*). (2 pars. No. 1. Ap. 17-24, 1649. Tuesdays.)

Mercurius Militaris or the People's Scout Discovering the designes interests and humours of the Civil and Martial Conventicles of Westminister Darby House and Whitehall etc. Numb. 1. Ap. 17-24, 1649. Tuesdays. (One number.)

England's Moderate Messenger. Numb. 1. Ap. 23-30, 1649. Mondays. Printed for R. W. (Until 9 July.)

1649.

Mercurius Elenticus. Numb. 1. Ap. 24-1 May 1649. Tuesdays.

Mercurius Brittanicus communicating intelligence from all parts and touching and handling the humours and conceits of Mercurius Pragmaticus. Numb. 1. Ap. 24-4 May 1649. Tuesdays. (Until 5 June.) By Gilbert Mabbot.

Mercurius Elencticus (For *King Charls II.*). (Pars 2.) Numb. 1. Ap. 30-7 May 1649. Mondays.

Mercurius Philo-Monarchicus. (Pars 2?) May 14-21, 1649. Numb. (?1). Mondays.

A Moderate Intelligence. Numb. 1. May 17-24, 1649. Thursdays. Printed for Robert White. (Two numbers.)

Mercurius Pacificus. No. 1. May 17-25, 1649. Thursdays. (One number.)

Mercurius Republicus. Numb. 1. May 22-29, 1649. Tuesdays. Printed for R. Leybourn. (One number.)

Mercurius Militaris or Times only Truth-Teller Faithfully undeceiving the expectations of the vulgar (who are daily abused by a Crew of brainlesse and brazen faced News-Scriblers (whether Royall, Martiall, or Parliamentall) who have sold themselves for a penny to doe wickedly; relating the most perfect transactions both forraigne and domestick collected with much labour from divers particulars and here presented in one bundle to the reader. Numb. 1. May 22-29, 1649. Tuesdays. Continued as *The Metropolitan Nuncio* etc. By I. H. No. 1. May 29-June 6. No. 3. June 6-13. (No more.) By John Hackluyt D.D.

Mercurius Melancholicus for King Charls the Second. Against those bloody usurpers Tyrants and Traitors of the Juncto and Army. Numb. 1. May 24-31, 1649. Thursdays. (One number.) By John Taylor.

Mercurius Verax or Truth appearing after Seaven Yeares Banishment. (No. 1.) (MS. June 4th, 1649.) Vide Perlege, Fle aut Ride. (One number.)

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The Moderate Intelligencer. Numb. 1. May 29-5 June 1649. Tuesdays. Printed for R. Leybourn in Monkswel Street. (Until Oct. 4.) By John Dillingham. (A change of day in order to attack Mabbott's *The Moderate.*)

A Book without a Title (No. 1). MS. 12 June 1649. (One number.)

A Perfect Diurnall of Passages in Parliament. Mondays. Numb 1. July 9-16, 1649. Printed by Robert Wood. Suppressed. A counterfeit. (Two numbers.)

The Moderate Mercury Faithfully communicating divers remarkable passages both forreign and domestique. Whereby the Truth will manifestly appear, and the mouth of Wilful Malignancy be utterly stopped. Numb. 1. June 14, 1649. Thursdays. Printed for W. L. (Two numbers.)

The First Decade of Useful Observations. Raised out of modern experience. Scientiæ Mater Experientia Temporis filia Veritas. Numb. 1. (MS. 28 June 1649.) Printed for T. M. (One number.)

A Tuesdaies Journall (title page illustrated with Commonwealth Coat of Arms). Numb. Fol. 1. July 1649. Tuesdays. Printed for Robert Ibbitson. (Until August 21.) By Henry Walker.

Mercurius Carolinus Written by Alethophilus Basiluphus, Britannophilus. Printed at Darby House for the Company of State Traitors at Westminster. Numb. 1. July 19-26. Thursdays. (One number.)

The Armies Painfull-Messenger. Numb. 1. July 25-2 Aug. Thursdays. Printed for F. L. (One number.)

Great Britaines Paine-full Messenger Af-Fording true notice of all affairs. Numb. 1. Aug. 9-16, 1649. Thursdays. No. 2. Printed for G. R. (Three numbers.) ? By A. Ford.

Mercurius Aulicus (*For King Charls II.*). Numb. 1. Aug. 14-21, 1649. Tuesdays. (Until 4 Sept.)

Mercurius Hybernicus. Discovering the Senates fraud, the

1649.

Cities folly, and the voracious imperiousness of the soldiery. Numb. 1. Aug. 30-6 Sept. 1649. Thursdays. (One number.)

Mercurius Pragmaticus for King Charls II. Numb. 1. Sept. 10-17. Mondays. (Until 29 Jan. 1650.)

A Briefe Relation of some affaires and transactions, Civill and Military, both Forraigne and Domestique. Numb. 1. Oct. 2, 1649. Published by authority. Tuesdays. Printed by M. Simmons. No. 2 Licensed by Gualter Frost Esquire secretary to the Council of State according to the direction of the late Act. (Until Oct. 22, 1650.) By Walter Frost.

Severall Proceedings in Parliament. Hen. Scobell Cleric Parliamenti. Numb. 1. Sept. 25-9 Oct. 1649. Tuesdays. Printed by Robert Ibbitson. No. 2. Licensed by the Clerk of the Parliament. No. 4. Fridays, and size increased. No. 18. Jan. 25-31, 1650. Thursdays. Until Ap. 21, 1653. From 21-28 April 1653 to 7 Sept. 1654 entitled *General Proceedings of State Affairs.* From 28 Sept. 1654 to 25 Jan. 1655 *Several Proceedings of State affairs.* From 22 Feb. to 27 Sept. 1655 *Perfect Proceedings of State affairs.* By Henry Scobell, "Sub-author" commencing January 1650 (about) Henry Walker.

A Very Full and Particular Relation. Numb. 6. (MS. date Oct. 31, 1649. Wednesdays). Printed by Matthew Simons for J. O. (Supplements to the Official *Brief Relation* in 1649.) By Walter Frost.

A Perfect and more Particular Relation. Numb. 2. (MS. Nov. 19) 1649. Printed for Francis Leach. Supplements to *A Brief Relation.* By Walter Frost.

A Perfect Diurnall of some Passages and Proceedings of and in Relation to the Armies. Licensed by the Secretary of the Army under his Excellency the Lord Fairfax. Numb. 1. Dec. 10-17, 1649. Mondays. Printed by Edw. Griffin. (Until Sept. 24, 1655.) By John Rushworth, sub-author Samuel Pecke (commencing about January 1650).

1650.

Newsbooks already in Existence.

Mondays—*A Perfect Diurnal* . . . in relation to the Armies. (Official). 1649. (Until Sept. 24, 1655.)

The Man in the Moon. (Until 5 June.)

Tuesdays—*Mercurius Pragmaticus.* 1647. (Until May 28.)

A Briefe Relation. (Official.) 1649. (Until Oct. 22.)

Thursdays—*Severall Proceedings.* (Official, the first three numbers on Fridays). 1649. (Until 27 Sept. 1655.)

The Irish Mercury Monethly (No. 1). Jan. 25 - Feb. 25 (1649/50). Printed at Cork and reprinted at London for Thos. Brewster and Gregory Moule. (One number.) ? By William Bladen.

The Irish Monthly Mercury. Numb. 1. (Feb. 6, 1649/50.) Printed at Corke and reprinted at London by T. N. for Giles Calvert. (One number.)

The Royall Diurnall (*for King Charls the II.*). Numb. 1. Feb. 25, 1650. Mondays. (Until April 30.)

Mercurius Elenticus (*for King Charles the II.*). Numb. 1. Ap. 22, 1649. Mondays. (Until June 3.)

Mercurius Politicus Comprising the Summ of all intelligence with the affairs, and designs now on foot, in the three nations of England, Ireland and Scotland. In defence of the Commonwealth and for information of the People. Ita vertere Seria Ludo (Hor. de Ar. Poet). Numb. 1. June 6-13, 1650. Thursdays. Printed by Mathew Simmons, afterwards Thos. Newcombe. (Until 12 April 1660.) By Marchamont Nedham or John Hall until the end of 1650, then by John Milton with Hall or Nedham as writers until January 1653. Then by Nedham under the supervision of John Thurloe. (Until May 1659.) From 13 May 1659 to 16 Aug. 1659 by John Canne, and then to April 12, 1660, by Nedham.

Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres. June. (Commenced about this time.) The only known copies in existence are as

follows: No. 186 $\frac{15}{5}$ to $\frac{22}{12}$ January $\frac{1654}{3}$ Thursdays. A Londres. Par Guil. Du-Gard. Par autorité. Et se vendent par Nicholas Bourne a la porte méridionale de la vieille Bourse. Until No. 229 $\frac{5 \text{ Nov.}}{26 \text{ Oct.}}$ 1654. (British Museum P.P. 3398.) (This periodical appears to have been discontinued for about two years at the Restoration, for the following number contains an account of the Coronation of Charles II.) No. 567. Du Jeudi $\frac{26}{16}$ Avril jusqu'au Jeudi $\frac{3 \text{ May}}{23 \text{ Avril}}$ 1663. A Londres. Par Samuel Broun. Par autorité. Et se vendent par lui aus armes de la Reine proche de la petite porte septentrionale de l'église de St. Paul. Et par Tho. Clark, à la porte méridionale de la vieille Bourse. (In the Record Office. S. P. Dom., Chas. II., vol. 72, No. 24.) ? By John Milton in 1650-1652. ? By Jean de l'Écluse at the Restoration.

The Impartial Scout. Numb. 53. June 21-28, 1650. Fridays. Printed by Robert Wood for E. Alkin and are to be sold in Corn-hil near the Royal Exchange. (Until Sept. 27.) By D. Border.

Perfect Passages of Every Daies Intelligence. Numb. 1. June 28-5 July 1650. Fridays. Printed by John Clowes over against the lower pump in Grub Street without Cripplegate. (Until Dec. 31, 1652, then continued as *The Moderate Publisher of every dayes Intelligence*, with No. 81, Jan. 14-21 until 20 Jan. 1654, then No. 2, Jan. 20-27, 1654, entitled *Certain Passages of Every Dayes Intelligence* to 28 Sept. 1655. By Henry Walker.

The Perfect Weekly Account. (Begins p. 527.) July 10-17, 1650. Wednesdays. Printed by B. Alsop. (Until 26 Sept.) By B. D.

A Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages of Parliament. Numb. 324.

1650.

July 15-22, 1650. Mondays. Printed by W. Hunt for F. Coales, L. Chapman, and L. Blaiklock. (Two numbers.) By Samuel Pecke.

The Weekly Intelligencer of the Commonwealth. Faithfully communicating all affaires both Martiall and Civill. Numb. 1. July 16-23, 1650. Tuesdays. Collected by the same hand which heretofore drew up the *Kingdomes Weekly Intelligencer.* Printed by R. Austin. Printed for R. C. (Until 25 Sept. 1655.) By ? R. Collings.

True Intelligence from the Head Quarters. Numb. 1. July 16-23, 1650. Tuesdays. Printed by J. Clowes for N. Brooks. (Three numbers.)

The Best and most Perfect Intelligencer. Numb. 1. Aug. 1-8, 1650. Thursdays. Published by William Huby. (One number.)

The Moderne Intelligencer. Numb. 1. Sept. 10-18, 1650. Tuesdays. Printed for Elizabeth Alkin at the Fountain in King Street. (Two numbers.) By Henry Walker.

Mercurius Anglicus. Numb. 1. Sept. 24 - 1 Oct. 1650. Tuesdays. Printed for E. Alkine. (One number.) ? By Henry Walker.

1651.

Newsbooks already in Existence.

Mondays—*A Perfect Diurnal . . .* in relation to the Armies. 1649. (Until Sept. 24, 1655.)

Tuesdays—*The Weekly Intelligencer of the Commonwealth.* 1650. (Until 25 Sept. 1655.)

Thursdays—*Mercurius Politicus.* 1650. (Until 12 Ap. 1660.)
(*Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres* 1650.)
Severall Proceedings. 1649. (Until 27 Sept. 1655.)

Fridays—*Perfect Passages.* 1650. (Until Dec. 28, 1655.)

The Faithfull Scout. Non sumus sub rege—sibi quisque se vindicet. Numb. 1. Dec. 27-3 Jan. 1651. Fridays. (Until Dec. 31, 1652.) Revived on 1 Feb. 1653 to 18 March. Continued as *The Armies Scout,* with No. 14,

1651.

Ap. 23-30, 1653, until 27 May-3 June 1653, then again as *The Faithfull Scout*, No. 115, 3-10 June 1653 to 28 Sept. 1655. Printed by Robt. Wood. (Until Sept. 28, 1655.) By D. Border.

A Perfect Account. Numb. 3. Jan. 22-29, 1651. Wednesdays. Printed by Bernard Alsop. (Until 5 Sept. 1655.) By B. D.

Mercurius Pragmaticus Revived And from the shades of his Retirement return'd again. Numb. 1. June 3-10, 1651. Tuesdays. Continued as *Mercurius Elencticus.* Numb. 2. June 10-17, 1651, to No. 4, June 24-1 July. Then continued as *Mercurius Scommaticus.* Numb. 1. July 1-8, 1651. Tuesdays. Printed by James Moxon. (No more.) By Samuel Sheppard.

The True Informer. Numb. 1. Aug. 20-28, 1651. Wednesdays. Printed for F. N. (One number.)

The Modern Intelligencer. Numb. V. Aug. 26-3 Sept. 1651. Tuesdays. Printed by I. Clowes for E. Alkin. (? The only number.) ? By Henry Walker.

The Diary. Numb. 1. Sept. 22-29, 1651. Mondays. Printed by Bernard Alsop. (Until 3 Nov.)

Mercurius Scoticus or the Royal Messenger. Numb. 2. Sept. 23-30, 1651. Tuesdays. (Burney.) Printed by John Clowes for Elizabeth Alkin. (? One number.) ? By Francis Nelson.

Perfect Particulars of Every Daies Intelligence. Numb. 39. Oct. 24-31, 1651. Fridays. Printed by F. Neile. (This was a single number of *Perfect passages* etc., printed by Neile, hence the mistake in the title.)

The French Intelligencer. Numb. 1. Nov. 18-25, 1651. Tuesdays. Printed by Robert Wood. (Until 18 May 1652.) ? By D. Border.

1652.

Newsbooks already in Existence.

Mondays—*A Perfect Diurnal* . . . in relation to the Armies. 1649. (Until Sept. 24, 1655.)

1652.

Tuesdays—*The Weekly Intelligencer.* 1650. (Until 25 Sept. 1655.)

The French Intelligencer. 1651. (Until 18 May.)

Wednesdays—*A Perfect Account.* 1651. (Until 5 Sept. 1655.)

Thursdays—*Mercurius Politicus.* 1650. (Until 12 Ap. 1660.)

(*Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres.* 1650.)

Severall Proceedings. 1649. (Until 27 Sept. 1655.)

Fridays—*Perfect Passages.* 1650. (Until Sept. 28, 1655.)

The Faithfull Scout. 1651. (Until Sept. 28, 1655.)

Mercurius Bellonius. Numb. 1. Jan. 28-4 Feb. 1652. Wednesdays. Printed by J. C. (Until March 3.) ?By John Crouch.

The Dutch Spy. Numb. 1. March 1652. Wednesdays. Printed by Robert Wood. (Three numbers.) ?By D. Border.

Mercurius Democritus or a true and perfect Nocturnall communicating wonderfull news out of the World in the Moon, The Antipodes, Tenebris, Fary-land, Egypt, Greenland, and other adjacent countries. Published for the understanding of all the Madmerry-People of Great Bedlam. Numb. 1. Tuesday night, Ap. 8, 1652. Wednesdays. Until 25 Aug., then continued as *The Laughing Mercury.* No. 22. Aug. 25-8 Sept. 1652 to 3 Nov. 1653. Then as *Mercurius Democritus* again until Nov. 9, 1653. By John Crouch.

Mercurius Phreneticus. No. 1. July 12-19. Numb. 2. (MS. April 8, 1652.) Until April 22. By Samuel Sheppard.

Mercurius Zeteticus Hebdomadas prima. "The Theme Scoto Presbyter." (MS. April 22, 1652.) (One number.)

The French Occurrences. Numb. 1. May 10-17, 1652. Mondays. Printed for George Horton. (Until 3 Jan. 1653.)

Mercurius Pragmaticus. Numb. 1. May 18-25, 1652. Tuesdays. (Until 6 July.) By Samuel Sheppard.

Mercurius Heraclitus or The Weeping Philosopher, Sadly bemoaning the distractions of the times, communicating

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true news from Wet eyes, sad hearts and perplexed minds concerning the agrievances of the people. Numb. 1. June 28, 1652. Mondays. Printed by J. C. and D. W. dwelling at the Three Foxes in Long Lane. Introductory verse in deep mourning border. (Until 12 July.) By John Crouch.

Mercurius Pragmaticus. Numb. 1. June 29-6 July 1652. Tuesdays. (One number.) By Marchamont Nedham.

Mercurius Britannicus. Numb. 1. July 19-26, 1652. Mondays. Printed by J. Cotterel and J. Moxon. (Until Aug. 23. No. 5.) (Five numbers.) By Marchamont Nedham.

Mercurius Cinicus or a true and perfect Intelligence communicating admirable news out of the air, in the Sun, the Sea, and the Earth. Published for the right understanding of B——ds Q——s, Wh——s, Small-coal-men, and chimney-sweepers. Numb. 1. Aug. 4-11, 1652. Wednesdays. (One number.)

Mercurius Mastix. Faithfully lashing all Scouts, Mercuries Posts, Spys, and others who cheat the Commonwealth under the name of intelligence and discovering their base cheats and unworthy tricks, whereby they purloyn money out of all honest mens pockets. Numb. 1. Aug. 20-27, 1652. Fridays. (One number.) By Samuel Sheppard.

Mercurius Britannicus etc. No. 14. Oct. 19-26. Until No. 23. Dec. 21-28. (A Counterfeit printed by Rob. Wood of No. 21, Dec. 7-14, 1652, by the writer of the *Faithfull Scout.*) Printed by Jas. Cottrell.

The Flying Eagle. Communicating Intelligence both farre and neere. Numb. 1. Nov. 27-4 Dec. 1652. Saturdays. Printed by T. Fawcet for A. P. Illustrated title page. (Until 1 Jan. 1653.) (To advocate the claims of those to whom money was owing on the "Public Faith".)

The Moderate Intelligencer. Numb. 166. Dec. 1-8, 1652. Wednesdays. Printed by Robert Wood. (A Continuation from 1649.) (Until Dec. 29.) By John Dillingham.

1653.

Newsbooks already in Existence.

Mondays—*A Perfect Diurnal* . . . in relation to the Armies. 1649. (Until Sept. 24, 1655.)
The French Occurrences. 1652. (Until Jan. 3.)

Tuesdays—*The Weekly Intelligencer.* 1650. (Until 25 Sept. 1655.)

Wednesdays—*A Perfect Account.* 1651. (Until 5 Sept. 1655.)
Mercurius Democritus. 1652. (Until 9 Nov.)

Thursdays—*Severall Proceedings.* 1649. (Until 27 Sept. 1655.)
Mercurius Politicus. 1650. (Until 12 Ap. 1660.)
(*Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres.* 1650.)

Fridays—*The Faithfull Scout.* 1651. (Until Sept. 28, 1655.)
Perfect Passages. 1650. (Until Sept. 28, 1655.)

The Moderate Publisher of Every Daies Intelligence. No. 81. Jan. 14-21, 1652/3. Fridays. Printed by John Clowes. (Until 20 Jan. 1654.) (Continuation of *Perfect passages of Every dayes Intelligence.* No. 80. Dec. 24-31, 1652.) By Henry Walker.

The Moderate Messenger. Numb. 1. Jan. 31-7 Feb. 1653. Mondays. Printed for George Horton. (Until March 14.)

The i Fathful Post. No. 89. March 25-1 April 1653. Fridays. Printed for George Horton, R. Eels and T.. L. (Until ? Sept. 1653.) Opposition copies published by all three during June to Sept. 1653. Continued as *Great Britain's Post*, No. 136, Nov. 2-9 to Dec. 28, 1653 Then as the *Politique Post*, Jan. 4-11, 1653/4, afterwards the *Grand Politique Post*, until 11 April 1654, and the *Weekly Post*, No. 174, Ap. 11-18, 1654, to 19 June 1655. All printed for G. Horton and commencing with the year 1654. Always on Tuesdays.

Moderate Occurrences. Numb. 1. March 29-5 April 1653. Tuesdays. Printed for George Horton. (Until 31 May.)

The Moderate Intelligencer. Numb. 1. May 2-9, 1653. Mondays. Printed by Robert Wood. (Until 26 April 1654.)

1653.

Mercurius Britannicus. Numb. 2. May 16-23, 1653. Mondays. Printed for G. Horton. (Until 20 June.)

Mercurius Pragmaticus taking a serious view of the present condition proceedings and conspiracies of the distracted part of the world. Impartially communicating Publique affairs and gently correcting Domestique Errours. Numb. 1. May 16-25. Wednesdays. 1653. Printed for Matthew Mede. (Until July 13.)

The Daily Proceedigs (*sic*). (No. 1.) (MS. June 17, 1653.) (One number.)

Mercurius Radamanthus. The chiefe judge of Hell, his Circuit throughout all the Courts of Law in England, discovering the knaveries of his brethren, and the briberies cruelties oppressions and extortions of their officers, and of Jaylors Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Serjeants, Catch poles, etc. (No. 1.) (MS. June 27, 1653.) (Until July 25.)

The True and Perfect Dutch Diurnall. Numb. 1. June 27-3 July. Mondays. Printed for Tho. Lock. (Until 22 May 1654.)

Severall Proceedings of Parliament. No. 1. 26 July 1653. Tuesdays. Printed by John Field. (Until Dec. 13.)

The Loyal Messenger. No. 1. Aug. 3-10, 1653. Wednesdays. Printed for G. Horton. (One number.)

The Newes or the Ful Particulars of the Last Fight. No. 1. Aug. 5-12, 1653. Fridays. (One number.)

1654.

Newsbooks already in Existence.

Mondays—*A Perfect Diurnal . . .* in relation to the Armies. 1649. (Until Sept. 24, 1655.)
The Moderate Intelligencer. 1653. (Until 26 Ap.)
The True and Perfect Dutch Diurnall. 1653. (Until 22 May.)

Tuesdays—*The Weekly Intelligencer.* 1650. (Until 25 Sept. 1655.)

Wednesdays—*A Perfect Account.* 1651. (Until 5 Sept. 1655.)

Thursdays—*Severall Proceedings.* 1649 and 1653. (Until 27 Sept. 1655.)

1654.

Mercurius Politicus. 1650. (Until 12 Ap. 1660.)
(*Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres.* 1650.)

Fridays—*The Faithfull Scout.* 1651. (Until Sept. 28, 1655.)
The Moderate Publisher. (1652) 1653. (Until 20 Jan. 1655.)
Perfect Passages. 1650. (Until Sept. 28, 1655.)

The True Informer. No. 1. Dec. 30-Jan. 6, 1653/4. Fridays. Printed by T. Lock.

The True and Perfect Dutch Diurnall. No. 3. Jan. 3-10, 1653/4. Tuesdays. Printed by T. Lock. (Until May 22.)

The Moderate Publisher of Every Dayes Intelligence. Numb. 1. Jan. 13-20, 1653/4. Fridays. Continued as certain passages of *Every Dayes Intelligence* etc., with No. 2. Printed by F. Neile. (Until 28 Sept. 1655.)

Mercurius Democritus etc. No. 82. Jan. 9-25, 1653/4. Wednesdays. Printed for G. Horton. (A Revival.) (Until Feb. 22.)

The Loyal Intelligencer etc. Numb. 73. (?) Jan. 23-30, 1653/4 Mondays. Printed for George Horton. (One number.)

The Politique Informer. Numb. 1. Jan. 23-30, 1654. Mondays. Printed by Rob. Wood. (Until 6 Feb.)

Perfect Occurrences. Numb. 1. Jan. 39 (*sic*)-6 Feb. 1654. Mondays. (Until June 23.)

The Moderate Intelligencer etc. No. 165. Feb. 16-22, 1654. Wednesdays. Printed for G. Horton. (Until 10 May.)

Mercurius Poeticus. Numb. 2. March 1-8, 1654. Wednesdays. (Not in verse. Five numbers.) By Marchamont Nedham.

Mercurius Nullus or the invisible Nuncio. Most partially comprising the sum of all intelligence between Well-close and Westminster. (No. 1.) From to-morrow morning till yesterday at noon. 1654 (March 13). (One number. Abominably scurrilous.)

Mercurius Aulicus. Numb. 1. March 13-20, 1654. (Until 3 April.) Unlicensed.

1654.

The Loyal Messenger or Newes from White-hall, March 4. April 3-10, 1654. Mondays. (Four numbers.)

Observations Historical Political and Philosophical Upon Aristotle's First book of Political government, together with a narrative of State affaires in England, Scotland and Ireland. Numb. 1. April 4-11, 1654. Tuesdays. Printed for R. Moon. (? About six numbers.) (Burney, 46.)

Perfect Diurnall Occurrences. Numb. 1. May 1-8 (1654). Mondays. Printed for F. Coles. (Until 30 Oct.)

A Politick Commentary on the Life of Caius July Cæsar. Written by Caius Suetonius Tranquilius. Numb. 1. (MS. May 23, 1654.) (Comprises *Perfect and Impartial Intelligence.*) Printed by R. Moon. (Until 2 June.) By the author of *Observations on Aristotle's Politics.*

The Weekly Abstract. No. 1. May 27-June 3. Saturdays. ? 4 numbers. (Burney.)

Mercurius Fumigosus. No. 3. June 14-21, 1654. Wednesdays. Until 3 Oct. 1655. By John Crouch.

Mercurius Jocosus or the merry mercurie. Bringing news of the best concets from the most refined fancies as well ancient as modern, choise, various, and delightful, Comprizing Merry tales witty jests, quaint questions, quick answers, and overgrown buls, whereof some are Publicke others private never yet extant. Wherein you have mirth without danger, wit without dross, Profit without pains. Together with the heads of all the remarkable news. (No. 1.) July 14-21, 1654. Fridays. Printed by Tho. Lock. (Until Aug. 4.) By Thomas Lock.

The Observator with a summary of Intelligence. "Semel insanavimus omnes." Numb. 1. Oct. 24-31, 1654. Tuesdays. Printed by Thomas Newcombe. (Until Nov. 7.) By Marchamont Nedham.

(For the *Politique Post*, the *Grand Politique Post* and the *Weekly Post*, see 1653, *The Faithful Post.*)

1655.

Newsbooks already in Existence.

Mondays—*A Perfect Diurnal* . . . in relation to the Armies. 1649. (Until Sept. 24.)

Tuesdays—*The Weekly Intelligencer.* 1650. (Until 25 Sept.)
The Weekly Post. 1654. (Until 19 June.)

Wednesdays—*A Perfect Account.* 1651. (Until 5 Sept.)
Mercurius Fumigosus. (Until 3 Oct.)

Thursdays—*Severall Proceedings.* 1649 and 1653. (Until 27 Sept.)
Mercurius Politicus. 1650. (Until 12 Ap. 1660.)
(*Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres.* 1650.)

Fridays—*The Faithfull Scout.* 1651. (Until Sept. 28.)
The (Moderate Publisher) of Certain Passages. (1652) 1653. (Until 20 Jan.)
Perfect Passages. 1650. (Until Sept. 28.)

The Publick Intelligencer. Communicating the chief Occurrences and proceedings within the dominions of England, Scotland and Ireland. Together with an account of affaires from severall parts of Europe. Numb. 1. Oct. 1-8, 1655. Mondays. (Until 9 April 1660.) By Marchamont Nedham under the supervision of John Thurloe until May 1659. From May 13, 1659, to Aug. 16, 1659, by John Canne and then to April 9, 1660, by Marchamont Nedham.

1656 to 1658 inclusive.

Newsbooks.

Mondays—*The Publick Intelligencer.* 1655. (Until 9 Ap. 1660.)

Thursdays—*Mercurius Politicus.* 1650. (Until 12 Ap. 1660.)
(*Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres.* 1650.)

No others were permitted to appear until 1659.

The following advertising periodicals appeared in 1657:—

The Publick Adviser weekly communicating unto the whole nation the several occasions of all persons that are in

1658.

any way concerned in matter of Buying and Selling or in any kind of Employment or dealings whatsoever, according to the intent of the Office of Public Advice newly set up in several places in and about London and Westminster; for the better accomodation and ease of the people and the universal benefit of the commonwealth in point of Publick Intercourse. No. 1. May 19-26. Tuesdays. No. 6. June 22 to June 29. *Mondays* henceforth. Until Sept. 28. Printed by Thos. Newcombe. By Marchamont Nedham and others.

The Weekly Information from the Office of Intelligence established in several places in and about the cities of London and Westminster, by authority granted under the great seal of England, and conferred upon Oliver Williams etc. No. 1. July 13-20, 1657. Mondays. Printed for the author and are to be sold at the sign of the Sun in Paul's Churchyard. (One number.) By Oliver Williams and others.

1659.

Newsbooks already in Existence.

Mondays—*The Publick Intelligencer.* 1655. (Until 9 Ap. 1660.)

Thursdays—*Mercurius Politicus.* 1650. (Until 12 Ap. 1660.)
(*Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres.* 1650.)

The Faithfull Scout. No. 1. 22-29 April. Fridays. Printed for George Horton. With No. 12 called *The National Scout*, with No. 14 *The Loyall Scout.* Until 6 Jan. 1660. Published by "special authority" commencing with 16 July. ? By D. Border.

Mercurius Democritus communicating faithfully etc. No. 2. Ap. 26-3 May 1659. Tuesdays. (Ephemeral.)

Mercurius Democritus or a perfect Nocturnal etc. No. 1. May 3-10, 1659. Tuesdays. Printed for J. J. by J. C. Until August 10. By John Crouch.

The Weekly Post. No. 1. 3-10 May 1659. Tuesdays.

1659.

Printed for G. Horton. Until 6 Dec. Published by "special authority" commencing with 19 July. ? By D. Border.

The Weekly Intelligencer of the Commonwealth. No. 1. 3-10 May 1659. Tuesdays. Printed by W. Godbid. Until 6 Dec. By ? R. Collings.

The Moderate Informer. No. 1. May 12-19. Thursdays. Printed for William Gilbertson in Guiltspur St. (Two numbers.) By Marchamont Nedham.

The Weekly Account. No. 1. May 25-1 June. Wednesdays. Printed by E. Alsop. (One number.)

Mercurius Pragmaticus (20 June 1659). (One number.)

A Particular Advice from the office of Intelligence etc., etc. No. 1. June 23-30, 1659. Fridays. Printed by J. Macock dwelling on Addle Hill near Baynards Castle. Title altered to *An Exact Accompt* on Jan. 6, 1660. Until 6 July 1660. By Oliver Williams and others.

Occurrences from Foreign Parts. No. 1. 28 June-5 July 1659. Tuesdays. Printed by J. Macock. Until 13 March 1660. By Oliver Williams and others.

Mercurius Pragmaticus communicating his weekly intelligence. No. 1. Aug. 30-6 Sept. Printed for H. Marsh. (Ephemeral.)

The Faithfull Intelligencer from the Parliaments Army in Scotland. No. 1. Nov. 29-3 Dec. 1659. Edinburgh. Printed by Christopher Higgins. (One number.) By Capt. Goodwin.

The Parliamentary Intelligencer comprising the sum of forraign intelligence with the affairs now in agitation in England Scotland and Ireland. For information of the People. No. 1. 19-26 Dec. 1659. Mondays. Printed by John Macock, by Tho. Newcombe etc. Marked "Nunquam sera est ad Bonos mores via" and on 9 Jan. "Facile est imperium in bonis". On 20 Feb. "Non sic minantia pila. Quam tutatur amor."—No. 14. 26 March-2 Ap. 1660. *Published by order of the Council of State.*—Continued from No. 1, Dec. 31-7 Jan. 1661 as

1659.

The Kingdoms Intelligencer etc. Published by authority. Until 31 August 1663. By Henry Muddiman, assisted until the Restoration by Giles Dury.

Mercurius Pragmaticus. Impartially communicating the true state of affairs etc. No. 2. Dec. 23-30. Published by authority. (? Ephemeral.)

1660.

Newsbooks already in Existence.

Mondays—*The Publick Intelligencer.* 1655. (Until 9 Ap. 1660.)
The Parliamentary Intelligencer. 1659. (Until 31 Aug. 1663.)

Tuesdays—*Occurrences from foreign parts.* 1659. (Until 13 March.)

Thursdays—*Mercurius Politicus.* 1650. (Until 12 Ap.)
(*Nouvelles ordinaires de Londres.* 1650. (? Until April).)

Fridays—*The Loyall Scout.* 1659. (Until 6 Jan.)
An Exact Accompt. 1659. (Until 6 July.)

The Monethly Intelligencer. No. 1. Jan. 1. Printed by Thomas Johnson for Francis Cossinet at the Anchor and Mariner in Tower St. (One number.)

Mercurius Publicus comprising the sum of forraign Intelligence with the affairs now in agitation in England Scotland and Ireland. For information of the people. No. 1. 29 Dec.-5 Jan. 1660. Thursdays. Until 3 Sept. 1663. (The first 14 numbers are in Wood's collections at the Bodleian library, Oxford.) Printed by John Macock, by Tho. Newcombe etc. By Henry Muddiman assisted by Giles Dury. By Dury (nominally) from Ap. 2 until the Restoration and thenceforward, until 1663, by Henry Muddiman.

Mercurius Fumigosus or the Smoaking Nocturnal. No. 1. Jan. 11-18, 1660. No. 1. March 28, 1660. Wednesdays. Printed for J. J. (Ephemeral.) By John Crouch.

Londons Diurnal. No. 1. Feb. 1-8, 1660. Printed for G. Horton. (Ephemeral.)

1660.

The, Perfect Diurnal. No. 1. 21 Feb. 1660. Daily, except Sundays, until 16 March inclusive. Published at the office of Intelligence. By Oliver Williams and others.

Mercurius Phanaticus or Mercury temporizing. No. 1. March 7-14. Printed for John Lambert at the sign of the Distressed Commander in Wimbleton court. (Burney, 18*.) No. 2. May 14-21. Printed by Praise God Barebones at the sign of the anabaptist rampant in Fleet St. (Ephemeral.)

A Perfect Diurnal or the daily proceedings in the Conventicle of the Phanatiques. No. 1. March 19, 1659/60. (Ephemeral.)

Mercurius Honestus or Tom tell-truth. No. 1. March 14-21, 1660. ? By Sir George Wharton.

The Phanatick Intelligencer. No. 1. March 24, 1659/60. (Ephemeral.)

Mercurius Aulicus or the Court Mercury. No. 12. June 18-25, 1660. (P.P. 3410 ab.) Printed for G. Horton living in Figg Tree Court in Barbican. (Ephemeral.)

(*Note.*—From April, 1660, the Thomason Collection is of little use and incomplete.)

Mercurius Politicus communicating . . . advertisements from the three kingdoms . . . and a particular advice from the Office of Intelligence over against the Conduit near the Old Exchange. Published by Authority (*sic*). No. 1. 12-19 April 1660. Thursdays. Until July 5. Printed by John Redmayne. After a few numbers numbered alternately with the *Publick Intelligencer*. By Oliver Williams and others. (Nos. 16 to 22 in the Collection of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.) (Burney Collection.)

The Publick Intelligencer communicating . . . advertisements from the three kingdoms . . . and a particular advice from the Office of Intelligence. No. 1. 9-16 April 1660. Printed by John Redmayne. After a few numbers numbered alternately with *Mercurius Politicus*.

1660.

Mondays. Until June 25? By Oliver Williams and others. (Burney Collection.)

Mercurius Civicus or The Cities Intelligencer etc. Published by order of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen. No. 4. May 1-8, 1660. Tuesdays. Printed by Tho. Newcombe, John Redmayne, Jas. Cotterell etc. (Ephemeral.) (To No. 11 in the Collection of the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.) (One number in Burney Collection.)

Perfect Occurrences of the most remarkable passages in Parliament with other moderate Intelligence. No. 4. May 11-18, 1660. Fridays. Printed by John Clowes. (Ephemeral.) By Henry Walker. (Burney Collection.)

The Man in the Moon. No. 1. 19-26 April.

Merlinus Phanaticus. No. 1. May 23, 1660. Printed for Daniel White.

Mercurius Veridicus. No. 1. June 5-12, 1660. Tuesdays. Printed by D. Maxwell living in Thames St. near Baynard's Castle. (One number.)

Mercurius Democritus in Querpo. No. 9. June 14. (Burney.) (Ephemeral.)

The Votes of both Houses. No. 1. 13-20 June. Printed by John Redmayne in Lovells Court in Paternoster Row and are to be had at the Office of Intelligence. By Oliver Williams and others. (One number.)

The Man in the Moon. No. 1. August 13-20, 1660. Mondays. Printed for John Johnson. (Ephemeral.)

The Wandering Whore. No. 2. Dec. 5, 1660. (Four numbers.) By John Garfield.

1661.

Newsbooks already in Existence.

Mondays—*The Kingdoms Intelligencer.* (*The Parliamentary Intelligencer.* 1659.) (Until 31 August, 1663.)

Thursdays—*Mercurius Publicus.* 1660. (Until 3 Sept. 1663.)

Mercurius Caledonius comprising the affairs now in agitation in Scotland with a survey of forraign intelligence. No.

1661.

1. Dec. 31 - Jan. 8, 1661. Edinburgh. Printed by a Society of Stationers and reprinted at London. (For two or three months.) By Thomas Sydserf.

Mercurius Democritus or the smoaking Nocturnal. No. 1. May 22, 1661. Printed for J. J. (One number.) By John Crouch.

1662.

Newsbooks in Existence.

Mondays—*The Kingdoms Intelligencer.* (*The Parliamentary Intelligencer.* 1659.) (Until 31 Aug. 1663.)

Thursdays—*Mercurius Publicus.* 1660. (Until 3 Sept. 1663.)

A Monthly Intelligence Relating the Affaires of the People called Quakers. No. 1. August-September 1. (The only number.) Printed for the author. (Brit. Mus. 4151. bb. 4.)

1663.

Newsbooks in Existence.

Mondays—*The Kingdoms Intelligencer.* (*The Parliamentary Intelligencer.* 1659). (Until 31 August.)

Thursdays—*Mercurius Publicus.* (Until 3 Sept.)

The Man in the Moon. No. 2. May 5-12, 1663. Printed for J. Jones. (Ephemeral.)

Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres. Revived (?) at the beginning of the year.

The Intelligencer. Published for the satisfaction and information of the people. With Privilege. No. 1. Aug. 31, 1663. Mondays.

(*Note.*—At the commencement of the year 1664 this was made consecutive with the *Newes,* both periodicals being numbered and paged together as if the same periodical, and no longer being independent of one another.)

Until 29 Jan. 1666. Printed by R. Hodgkinson. (The final numbers in Wood's Collections at the Bodleian Library.) By Sir Roger L'Estrange.

1663.

The Newes. Published for the satisfaction and information of the people. With Privilege. No. 1. 3 Sept., 1663. Thursdays. (See note to the *Intelligencer.*) Until 29 Jan. 1666. Printed by R. Hodgkinson. (The final numbers are only to be seen at the Bodleian Library.) By Sir Roger L'Estrange.

1664.

Newsbooks in Existence.

Mondays—*The Intelligencer.* 1663. (Until 29 Jan. 1666.)

Thursdays—*The Newes.* 1663. (Until 29 Jan. 1666.)

(*? Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres.*)

1665.

Newsbooks in Existence.

Mondays—*The Intelligencer.* 1663. (Until 29 Jan. 1666.)

Thursdays—*The Newes.* 1663. (Until 29 Jan. 1666.)

(*? Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres.*)

The Oxford Gazette. No. 1. (16) November 1665. Thursday. Twice a week, on Mondays and Thursdays. Printed at Oxford by Leonard Litchfield and reprinted in London by Thomas Newcombe. With No. 24, Monday, 5 Feb. 1665/6, title changed to *The London Gazette.* By Henry Muddiman to No. 25, inclusive, afterwards by Charles Perrot to about 1671.

Publick Intelligence. With sole Privilege. No. 1. 28 Nov. 1665. By Sir Roger L'Estrange. (One number.) Printed by R. Hodgkinson.

1666.

Newspapers and Newsbooks in Existence.

Mondays—*The Intelligencer.* 1663. (Until 29 Jan.)

The Oxford Gazette. 1665. (Now *The London Gazette.*)

Thursdays—*The Newes.* 1663. (Until 29 Jan.)

The Oxford Gazette. 1665. (Now *The London Gazette.*)

1666.

The Current Intelligence. Published by authority. No. 1. June 4-7. Thursday. Every Monday and Thursday until August 20. Official opponent of the *Gazette.* A separate slip of advertisements of books with Nos. 19 and 20. (Burney Collection.) By Henry Muddiman.

Publick Advertisements (with Privilege). No. 1. 25 June 1666. "Fortnightly" or "oftner". Printed by Tho. Newcomb. (? One number.) By Sir Roger L'Estrange. (Brit. Mus. 8630. d. 33(2).)

From 1667 and to the present day *The London Gazette,* twice a week (now on Tuesdays and Fridays).

FINIS.

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